





SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;

WITH THE

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY  
MEETING,

HELD IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

On the 12th May, 1835.

AND THE

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR  
BUSINESS.

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1835.



SECOND ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

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THE Second Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was celebrated on the 12th day of May, 1835, at the Presbyterian church, corner of Houston and Thompson streets, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. ARTHUR TAPPAN, and opened with an address to the Throne of Grace by Rev. Dr. Beman, of Troy.

Extracts from the Annual Report were then read by ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

On motion of Dea. EBENEZER DOLE, of Hallo-well, Me., seconded by Rev. JOHN BLAIN, of Providence, it was

*Resolved*, that the Report be accepted and published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

On motion of JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., of Kentucky,

*Resolved*, That for the permanent safety of the Union it is indispensable that the whole moral power of the free states should be concentrated, and brought into action for the extermination of slavery among us.

MR. BIRNEY, in supporting this resolution, commenced by describing what would be the natural conclusion of a stranger, visiting this country for the first time, on learning what had been done by the American government for the relief of the inhabitants of Caraccas, when their city had been destroyed by an

earthquake;—for the refugees from France, who had received what amounted almost to a donation of our public lands;—for the unfortunate Poles, who had fled from the intolerable tyranny of Russia. He would naturally conclude that we lived under a noble-spirited and magnanimous government. If he should then contemplate what had been done in our great cities to mitigate the miseries of the famished inhabitants of the Cape de Verd Islands; to relieve the suffering and oppressed Greeks; if he looked at the heathen schools established by American liberality, and to the numerous missionary establishments, all supported by the free donations of American citizens, he would conclude that the spirit of the government was but the natural offspring of the temper and feelings of the people. And especially, when the stranger should look nearer Mr. B's home, and observe how the money of the northern cities was poured out like water when Fayetteville had been burned; when he contemplated the noble edifices on every side for all the various purposes of charity, not even neglecting the guilty themselves; and above all, when he should look at the number of spacious and magnificent churches, these temples of God where his honor dwelleth, we would naturally be led to exclaim: 'Blessed is this people, for they have made the Lord their God.'

But should the stranger go farther south, should he enter the slaveholding states, and there behold coffles of human beings drawn along the high-ways with no more concealment than if they were so many herds of cattle; when he saw them *chained*, in the face of Israel and of the sun; and when, proceeding farther south, he should see hundreds of these same unhappy creatures placed under drivers, and laboring from sun to sun, with scarce any intermission and with barely a sufficiency of provisions to sustain, and of clothing scantily to cover them, what would be his impression then? Would it not be, "Is this for any crime? Have they invaded the country, and so behaved that it has become necessary thus to coerce them?" And should he be told in reply, that so far from this they have been brought here by force, entirely against their own will, and wholly without crime—what must he think, but that there was a great and glaring inconsistency between the principles avowed by the Government, and such a state of things?

Mr. B. then continued the hypothetical case by conducting his stranger into one of the great churches at the south, and then letting him hear a grave and eloquent orator, a man selected for talents and for weight of character, reading from a solemn state paper, enacted by the whole nation, that all men were by nature equal, and possessed of rights which were inalienable, and then inquired what would be his conclusion? And should he, after hearing this thus proclaimed 'the land of the free and the home of the brave,' turn to a friend and ask him to reconcile these seeming inconsistencies; and the friend should answer with a smile, 'Oh! this is only a mere rhetorical flourish, used to adorn a 4th of July oration.' Mr. B. asked whether that would satisfy a rational mind? Should he then come to the north, and in answer to the inquiry, 'Why do you not exert your power to put an end to such a state of things?' he should be promptly answered, 'We have no constitutional power in the case, would this be a sufficient answer? He did not ask them to exert a *constitutional* power; he did not ask for *force*; he asked, why did they not exert on such a state of things

their moral power? He might then probably hear it said, 'We are not slaveholders: it would be impertinent for us to interfere with the people and affairs of the south; and the south would eventually relieve itself, when the pressure shall be no longer tolerable.' And will this satisfy him? In such a case who was it that must *begin* the reform? Somebody must make the beginning. How had the Temperance reform been effected? With whom did *that* begin? Did the friends of the design go first to the hard drinkers? Did they go to the sinks and sewers, and drag out the wretched inebriates? No; they went to the soundest hearts, and to the purest hands in the community; and he was found the most efficient coadjutor who had never tasted the intoxicating bowl, who had never put the bottle to his neighbor's lips. And this was in strict accordance with theory—with true philosophy; and if, in the case of slavery, the people of the north were free from the contamination, they were only the more imperiously bound to commence, themselves, the work of reform.

Suppose, said Mr. B., that you were guilty as a nation of the crime of idolatry; would you send forth your missionaries to preach against it and endeavor to put it down? No, surely: not till you had first cleansed yourselves of the crime. I am warranted, therefore, in the conclusion that just in proportion as a Christian is, in his own person free from any particular vice, just in that proportion is he bound to exert himself for the deliverance of his fellow-men from that iniquity. And will not this general principle apply to non-slaveholders? To whom will you go to commence the reformation from slavery? to the slaveholders? no. To the non-slaveholders in the United States? no: for they will tell you that the argument is no more good against them than against you; there will be none to begin. But unless somebody *begins*, nothing will be accomplished.

Hitherto, said Mr. B., I have admitted for the argument's sake, that you are not, as you say you are not, slavholders. But I ask, are you not the upholders of slavery? and so far participants in it? If a ruffian attacks me in the street, and you stand by and attempt no rescue, what is your character? Are you much less to blame than the assailant? not much. Now look at the pulpits of the land. Do they invite discussion on this topic? They will almost all acknowledge that there is some sort or degree of sin attached to the practice of slavery? yet, I ask, do they invite discussion? or do they not on the contrary, rather suppress it? I speak generally: I admit that there is here and there an honorable exception: but is it not a fact, that the church, as a body, is endeavoring to support the system? And what is the state of the public press on this subject! Are not our editors always engaged in finding arguments to put in the mouth of the slaveholder? to create and prepare the very food he wants to sustain him! What is the tone of your orators? Do they not say, 'the subject is delicate; very delicate: don't touch it: let the south alone.' Delicate? Why then there is the greater need of discussion. Take a case from domestic life: a case that comes near your own bosom. Your child is sick: and you employ your ordinary family physician. Your child gets worse: your fears are excited: you send for another in consultation with him: still the disease gains strength: your child declines: the case becomes critical: it is a delicate case, and requires the most judicious handling: what do you do? Do you say,

'the case is delicate; let it alone; do nothing in it; it is too delicate?' No Nature teaches you a sounder lesson. You send abroad; you call in from every quarter the best talent you can procure; you have the case considered thoroughly, and never will you rest while you believe that any farther light can be shed upon it. So in matters of a legal and pecuniary kind. If you hold your neighbor's bond, and wish to put it in suit, you employ the nearest attorney, let his talent be ever so ordinary. The case is perfectly plain: it needs no nice argument. But let the case be one of a doubtful kind; one that depends on drawing close distinctions, and discussing nice subtleties of law—in a word, let your case be 'delicate,' and you employ the ablest counsel in the state, or perhaps out of the state. And what judgment would be passed upon your character were you to do otherwise? Why men would say you had no love for your child, or that you were foolishly unconcerned about your property. A delicate question? Why the discussion of the Inquisition would be a delicate question to Spain, just as the discussion on an establishment is now a delicate question in England. Romanism is no doubt a delicate subject to the Pope, and Republicanism a very delicate subject to the Emperor of Austria or of Russia. And yet who would not laugh, if we should be asked to say nothing about the principles of free government lest we should offend the Imperial autocrat of all the Russias? Yet where is the difference in the two cases? You here, are just as independent of the Southern states, as you are of Russia.

There is another fact that includes you in the guilt of this thing. Look at your treatment of the free colored population. What have you done for them? You have persecuted them. You have taken no care of them, but have trampled them down, and kept them down, and then wondered that they did not rise up to the heavens, and have been astonished that they betray no brilliancy of talent, no splendor of intellectual attainment. You have proclaimed over and over, how much worse off they are than the slaves. What more, I pray you, does the slaveholder want? If he can show a class of the community who are worse off than his slaves, his conscience is at ease. Do you not see the effect? He says, when his conscience upbraids him, that his slaves are much better off than your free white operatives in your great factories, and on your rail-roads and canals; and, therefore, they are in just as good a condition as they can be, or need to be. And here is the argument you yourselves have furnished to him; an argument which, I verily believe, is more operative at this hour than any other, in keeping slave-holders from thinking and from acting as they ought. And are you not then participants in the upholding and continuing of slavery in the land?

And now, I ask, what are the constitutional provisions which bind you to your Southern neighbors? Are they not such as obligate you to aid them in suppressing insurrections and repressing domestic violence? Surely no one will pretend that you are exonerated from this obligation. Let us see, then, how far you are participants in Southern slavery. We will take an illustration from the case of the Poles. That gallant, but unhappy nation, rebelled against the Russian government. Now, suppose that, in a treaty between the United States and Russia, we were bound to aid that government in suppressing insurrections against it, and we should fulfil our treaty stipulations, should we be



guiltless of all participation in Russian oppression toward her Polish subjects! Would any man attempt to maintain such a position? And suppose, after the Polish insurrection had been suppressed; after thousands upon thousands had been slaughtered, and thousands more driven into exile in Siberia, and some had effected their escape thence to this country, we should stipulate by treaty to aid the autocrat in recovering his prey, and should actually surrender the refugees, would any one pretend to say we had no participation in the subsequent oppression they might endure? Yet where is the difference between this case and our constitutional stipulations with the Southern slaveholders? Is there any fallacy here? If there be, I know it not. To my mind the two cases appear to be perfect parallels.

Again. Look at the state of things in the District of Columbia. Are you not as much participants in the slavery existing there, as the people of Kentucky are in Kentucky? The people of Kentucky elect legislators who pass laws confirming slavery in that State; and you elect legislators who confirm the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia. Where is the difference? Slavery exists by your permission; this never could have been but by the aid of Northern votes: and to him who knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.

Look now coolly at this case, and see whether your course in relation to this subject of slavery, is not precisely such as the people of the South would prescribe, if they had the ordering of the matter. Let your orators say, 'It is a delicate question, do not meddle with it;' let your men of probity, moral worth and acknowledged weight of character, say, 'Touch it not; we hold the Union as the very ultimatum of earthly good, and if you touch it the Union will be shivered to atoms;' let the public press summon up spirits from the vasty deep, and call up helpers from all the kennels of the land, (aye, and they will come, too,) and last of all, let the pulpit and the church of God lay hold, with all their vast moral weight and sanctity of character; let them use all that mighty influence which God gave for good in helping on this common cause;—and what more does the South want? The system is safe: slavery will be perpetuated.

But it will be said, 'Slavery, to be sure, is very bad; but it is not what it used to be; liberal principles are advancing; the slaves may be happy, and so may their masters; they may go happily and lovingly through this world, and all land in heaven together.' Yes: all this is said continually. Go to Kentucky, and they will tell you, 'Oh slavery is not here in its severe aspect; you must go farther south to see that. Well: you go farther south; you come into Alabama; and they tell you, 'It is not here that you will find the evils of slavery; you must go into Mississippi;' and in Mississippi, 'You must go upon the sugar plantations;' and on the sugar plantations they directed you, till lately, to the British West India Islands! It is all a delusion. Slavery is substantially the same every where. Does not its essence lie in the counteraction of the human will? Can any man be happy when his will is liable at any moment to be crossed? Take an instance. A slave perhaps has cleared a little spot of ground for himself, and has tilled and planted it; his affections are set upon it; it is his all, of this world. But, next day, his master's convenience, or some plan of gain, may require the plough to be drawn through the poor slave's little garden, and

he breaks it up without ceremony, the slave never being even spoken to on the subject. Or, perhaps, he has some domestic animal to which he is attached; a dog, for instance; the dog happens to bark at a neighbor, or at his master's child, and it is shot before his eyes, without a moment's hesitation, or a second thought; and last of all, the negro's affections are set upon his wife and children—all other subjects of his love are cut off, and here his affections concentrate themselves with tenfold force. But a slaver comes along; a high price is offered; and his wife and children are torn from him, sold in his presence, and doomed to a returnless separation. When a man is exposed to the constant counteraction of his will, can there be such a thing as happiness? There cannot. We all feel that it is impossible. No man in his sane mind can ever wish to be placed where a mere fallible being like himself shall have absolute control over all his interests and actions.

But, is it *true*, that the character of slavery has undergone an amelioration? Are there now fewer coffles of slaves traversing the country to a market? No: the number is increased: it increases daily. The system now growing into practice is, for the farming states to supply those farther south with slaves, just as regularly and systematically as the slave coast of Africa used to supply the colonists of Brazil or St. Domingo. It is growing into a system; and it is a system that will not be shaken but by shaking this government. Have the slaveholders curtailed their own power over their slaves? Not an atom of it. They cannot do it. Diminish that power one grain's weight, and you demolish the whole. Slavery is an unnatural state, and it requires an unnatural power to uphold it. Are fewer children now separated from their parents—fewer wives torn from their husbands, than formerly? No. The disruptions increase daily. Are the churches more prosperous in the South? No. Slavery has thrown over them a moral paralysis. Zion has thrown off her beautiful garments, (if ever she wore them there,) and nothing but immediate emancipation will ever restore her graceful attire. Will any *gradual* system do this? Never. And could it be done, would that be the triumph of principle, of true holiness, to get rid of an evil by a slow course of selfish and interested policy? No. It must be done by 'breaking off' the sin. Thus, and thus only, can the churches shew the genuine power and majesty of the truth.

I come not here, said Mr. B., as the accuser of my countrymen. Oh no; very far from it. I come not to say that they are worse than other men. By no means. Where I have my home, slavery appears in as mild an aspect as in any other portion of the Union, where it is permitted to exist at all. Many able minds, too, are moving the subject there. I seek not to make the case of the South worse than it is. Why should I? My own dearest friends are there. All my relatives, and they are not a few, live in the very midst of slavery. I come not to abuse them, or to misrepresent them. No. But I would intreat them, as a brother, 'Leave, oh leave this great sin!'

Slavery never can be better; it is vain to hope it. Power ever leads to its own abuse. After two hundred years, there is still no change for the better. We have considered our slaves as property so long, that the belief has become indurated upon our minds. Why should power be less likely to be abused now than in former days? Its nature, its tendency is not changed. We have an

instructive example of this tendency in the well known history of Nero. The character of this chief of tyrants, in early life, was marked by unusual tenderness of heart—the greatest mildness of temper. He was educated with a degree of care unknown to any other monarch. Burrus was his preceptor in war, Seneca in morals and the principles of government; and when he for the first time was called to sign a death warrant, he wept, and wished he had never been taught to write. Yet this same man, invested with uncontrolled power, became the very personification of cruelty; he slew both his preceptors, and with paricidal hands murdered his own mother; and that he might have a representation to his mind of the burning of Troy, he set Rome on fire, and while the wretched inhabitants were perishing in the ruins—while bereft mothers were wailing, and homeless orphans were dying on every side, there was Nero, in a secure tower, in full view of the conflagration, jigging and fiddling with the utmost glee. Here is effect of power: and the annals of slavery can furnish some instances not unworthy of being associated with this.

But there is a stronger objection urged:—‘The Union will be rent.’ What will rend it? Discussion? The freedom of the press is constitutional; and will that which is constitutional destroy the Union? Is this fair reasoning? The freedom of the press is constitutional. Will it rend the Union? Never. And the same principle applies here. No constitutional proceeding can have a tendency to destroy the Union. How is it to be rent? The free states will not dissolve it. Then is it to be done by the slave-holding states? Let us see. What will they gain by it? Why should they dissolve it? Have they not professed the strongest regard for it? They have. They have said that it is dearer to them than every other thing. There must be, then, something very great and momentous to justify such a step. What, I ask, will they gain? It is plain what they will lose. They will lose the protection of the free states. Now I met not long since with a large slaveholder in Tennessee, who told me that if it were not for the protection of the United States, he would forthwith sell, and remove to a free state; but on this he relied with entire confidence. Suppose the Union severed; how will they manage their slaves? as they do now? No. Will the Ohio be any harder to cross than now? Will there be a wall of fire to prevent the escape of slaves over the lines? What will keep out the invaders of the north? Will the dissolution stop discussion? Will it destroy the free press? Or can the spirit of discussion be chained upon the frontiers? No: it will only change the discussion by giving it fury. It will only change the present state of things by kindling mutual rage and hatred. If the south and the north separate *as enemies*, the slaves must know this, and will they not either escape or revolt? Believe me one or the other of these consequences will be inevitable. I say it fearless of contradiction, that nothing keeps the slaves quiet now but the dread of the power of the northern states, united with a hope that something is now doing in their behalf. During the last war, the British ministry were strongly advised to land 5,000 men in South Carolina; as it was deemed a feasible plan to distress the country by setting the slaves at liberty. And what prevented the experiment? Nothing but a fear for the safety of their own West India possessions. But should a like state of things again occur, will there, think you, be the same forbearance? No. The reason has

ceased. Slavery is abolished in the West Indies. And France will soon be in the same condition in this respect as Great Britain; and will she hesitate to avail herself of such an aid as the revolted slaves would afford her? Never. The south therefore must be powerless but for the protection and aid of the free states.

Now, on the other hand, let us see whether the continuance of slavery is not more likely to rend the Union than free discussion will be. The truth is, that slavery, if it continue many years longer, must itself dissolve the Union, and that inevitably. On this point I cannot now enter much into detail. But I will say, as one ground of this opinion, that the tendency of slavery, if continued, will be to cause the whites to remove out of the slaveholding states. Slavery tends not to the comminution, the subdividing of estates, but the opposite; it tends to the enlargement of individual possessions. The slaveholder, as he grows in wealth, buys out his poorer white neighbor: and hence there will be a gradual removal of those thus bought out, from the state. The poorer class of whites will thus remove to the free states. And how with the mechanics? The large slaveholder wants no free mechanics about him: he has mechanics among his own slaves: nor does he need the shop-keeper; because he can go to the place where the shop-keeper now purchases, and buy for himself. Hence none of the southern villages are found to grow. The wealthy planter pushes his fences up to the very verge of the town. The result will be, must be, to put down free labor. And what next? Why, as the small slaveholders leave the state, the laws to support slavery will become more rigorous in their character. This is, in fact, the true cause of the increased rigor which now marks the code. I do not say there are no adjutory causes; I know there are many, and very influential ones; yet this is the chief cause. This must go on; when the slaveholders find their full power, they will make the laws over slaves more and more strict. In the meanwhile, the planter himself will remove from such a neighborhood into the free states, and leave overseers to manage his slaves. You all know the powerful opposition of the West India interest to the philanthropists of Britain. It was powerful and persevering; yet it was a pigmy, it was nothing, to what will be the opposition here. There will be the strictest unity of interest and of action; and such as to control the legislation of the country, in spite of all opposition. In the meanwhile, the slaves must rapidly increase. And now what is the planter to do? He will come to Congress. He will there say, 'Our case is now desperate; our slaves can no longer be repressed by the power of the whites; and we ask now for the fulfilment of the constitutional stipulation: we ask for a military force sufficient to repress insurrection and put down domestic violence.' And what could be said? on what ground could they be denied? The constitution is on their side—and they must get what they demand. Well: and do you know what is the amount of that military force which will be needed? The planter says, 'you know nothing about it; you are bound to give us enough to keep down rebellion, and we alone are judges of how much that must be.' Now the slaves will be three millions. How many troops will it take to keep them in awe? Say it will require 1,000 to keep down 15,000; if this is sufficient, then 200,000 men will be needed; they will be distributed in garrisons, here and there, and will this answer the purpose? Remember, all moral means will then have ceased; they will be at an end. It will no longer do to pro-

clam, 'Servants, obey your own masters in all things.' They can no longer plead their goodness to their slaves. No: the word then will be, we have got the force, and you dare not resist. But how will they satisfy the slave of this? The state of ignorance is profound. Will they take him to the forts and let him see the guns? Why, he would laugh at them. And suppose he was not shown this, would he take the word of his oppressors, that they had such force? Never: and all that would be wanted would be nerves and muscles to prove it a deception.

Now, said Mr. B., since this is the inevitable tendency of the existing system, have you no interest in it? Let such an army be raised and organized, and how long will it be before they have this government and all the destinies of this country completely within their grasp? If you want to preserve the Union of these states, slavery must go down. Immediate emancipation is the only mode of escape. It is a remedy which commends itself to the most serious reflection of every patriot. But let us suppose that garrisons shall be established through all the slave states. It is said in Scripture that oppression will make a man mad; yes, even a wise man. Can you suppose that in sight of Ohio and of Pennsylvania, that when sold perhaps on the very night when they meant to attempt their escape, these slaves will be content in the south? Believe it not. The very first spark that touches the magazine of their heart will kindle such a flame as it will be vain to hope to quench or to resist. The garrisons will be cut off. And what then? Why then comes in the constitution—yes, the constitution still lives, (and I trust in God it may ever live!) and the slaveholder comes and demands the interference of the northern states. Can you refuse him? You cannot. Say then that you levy, *en masse*, and carrying blood and slaughter before you, you come to the line of the revolted state, and what will present itself to you there? Not garrisons of armed men; not cannon; not musketry nor the array of war; no, but the first line will consist of little orphans, whose fathers were cut off in the struggle, and they will hold up a banner with this inscription: 'GOD IS THE FATHER OF THE FATHERLESS.' They will be followed by a second line, consisting of their widowed mothers, and their ensign will bear upon it this motto; 'GOD IS THE FRIEND OF THE WIDOW.' The warriors who survived the contest will meet you next, not with a sword, nor any weapon of war, but with this inscription on their flag: 'ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL;' and they will say, 'And now what will you do? You may wash out our inscriptions in our blood, and trample us in the dust, but slaves again we will never be. Now, executioners, strike!'

And have you no interest in this? Are not the free states called to rise up to the consideration of the subject? I have lived long in the slave states. Many years have I watched the progress of the state of things. I have seen it going on with a regular progression. And I now ask every man of reflection and experience, whether he can see any counteracting cause to resist it? I have never heard of one.

In conclusion, permit me to say, before God and men, that I do not believe there is any other principle of action than that adopted by your Society, which ever will or can terminate the existence of slavery in the United States. I say this not unadvisedly, but deliberately and calmly. The thing must else come to a head, and when it does, it will burst over the land with tremendous and desolating violence.

The question being put, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

REV. BARON STOW, of Boston, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That this Society records with unfeigned joy and gratitude to Almighty God, the triumph of Christian benevolence in the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British dependencies, and its happy results; and, animated by the prospect of a union between the philanthropists of Great Britain and America in Christian efforts to extinguish slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, most fervently hopes that the delegates sent from Christian bodies in England to those in this country, will be men of uncompromising integrity, and ever willing to cooperate with the immediate abolitionists of this country.

Said Mr. Stow I stand here to-day under peculiar and most uncomfortable circumstances. I am requested to occupy the place of another, who was expected to take part in these exercises, and of whose efficiency the highest expectations were rationally formed. Deprived as we are of his aid, I cannot consent to occupy his place, but propose the space should be left, as he has left it, blank. Happy shall I be, if he, or any one else, will fill up the space with reasons for his course, satisfactory to himself, to his own country, and his brethren throughout the world. I wish merely to read a communication just received from London, by a gentleman in this city, giving an account of the glorious results of British emancipation.

LONDON, March 6, 1835.

*My Dear Friend*—Every thing is going on well in the colonies. The negroes prove that they are worthy of all the labors which have been undergone for them. Their conduct, especially in Antigua, is beyond all praise! The last news from the leeward as well as the windward islands, is truly gratifying. In Jamaica the Christmas holidays have been passed over in great tranquility; and on all the plantations where they have been treated well, and have been fairly remunerated for their extra labor, they have been orderly and industrious; and their owners unite in praising them. Two gentlemen of influence in Jamaica, had recently an interview with the Governor General, the Marquis of Sligo, who you will recollect possessed slave property in that island, and on inquiring of him how his apprentices conducted themselves he said, "perfectly to my satisfaction"—and, when they further inquired how that was the case, he said, "because I have ordered them to be treated properly, and have given them fair wages for their labor."

We were fearful when the Tories came into power, that some attempts would be made to enlarge the powers of the masters, and to abridge the privilege of the apprenticed laborers, but such has been the display of public opinion, throughout the country, that they have not displaced a single functionary in the colonies; and have engaged to act faithfully by the abolition act.

But I would not have you suppose that, because the negroes in our colonies are quiet, and in a multitude of cases at full work on the plantations, and in the boiling houses, that they are satisfied with the apprenticeship scheme. It is well known that they are not; and it is fully believed that it must be terminated in order that the general interests may be secured.

Nothing would delight a large number of the attorneys and overseers in Jamaica, more than an *active* resistance to the apprenticeship, on the part of the negroes; but they are so provokingly cool, and so determined to be quiet, that they cannot be goaded to any thing beyond a *passive* opposition to the present system.

In Antigua, every thing is going on well. Almost all the complaints we hear from that important island, are against the planters and their agents, and the local magistracy, who cannot forget the old system.

We commence operations against the slave trade this session. I have nearly prepared the case for Mr. Buxton, who is disposed to enter upon his new work with all his heart.

Rev. E. N. KIRK, of Albany, said, I feel, sir, that it was something of a venture for your committee to ask me to speak on this occasion. I am a recent convert to your society, sir, I do not mean to your principles, these I have long seen were eternal truths, but it is only recently that some of my difficulties have been mostly removed in regard to some specific movements of the Anti-Slavery Society. If any thing I say is not just in accordance with the spirit of your constitution; you know how to account for it.

I believe, sir, that this country can be moved by light and love on any subject. If not, I would sit down in despair. This question can be carried, but not by mobs and hisses. There is too much soberness here, too much knowledge of mankind, too much elevation of character, too much Bible piety, to carry questions so.

There is one particular aspect of this subject, which has come up again and again to my own mind, when asking shall I go forward or not? I never thought of the black man but as a MAN, and a brother. I never supposed that God had denied him any of the rights and privileges of others, and I could not see why men should. I once heard a horrid perversion of Scripture on this subject, pretending that the curse pronounced upon Canaan had brought slavery upon the descendants of Cush. But it would seem as if the merest smattering of knowledge of Scripture, of Geography, of history, would show that the curse on the Caananite could never reach the African.

I believe there are many who abhor slavery, but who dare not come forward and join this society, because their eyes are turned to the consequences of abolition. They wish to see their way clear. They know you have got the right principle, and that it must prevail, or the millenium will never come. Yes, sir, if the church shall ever see that day of glory, which she expects, there will not be heard the clanking of chains. But these brethren cannot take the step of joining your society, because just at the moment the consequences occupy their attention. If they would give us their thoughts, we would try to satisfy them on two points, first; What do we, abolitionists, *want*? and then, What do they who are, as I may say, only half abolitionists, *fear*?

*First.* What do we want?

We want that those who see the evils of slavery, should feel on the subject; that those who feel a little should feel deeply; that those whose feelings, though deep, are divorced from action, should act. They must admit, at once, that slavery is a crime against God and man, that it is a true and absolute SIN. No man can deny this.

I know there are honored brethren in Christ who hold slaves, ministers of the church to which I belong, and many of whom I am willing to believe are better men than myself; but, sir, I must say, I cannot see how they can do it. We want them to get out of this business.

And we want that those who feel should act. In addressing an assembly in Kentucky, a year ago, I was calling on them to do something, and I took the liberty of employing one illustration from western scenery. To show that mental feeling ought to lead to action, and the mental evil of theatres and novels, and of all things that produce feeling without action, I referred the assembly to what I had seen on board their own steamboats. They run, there, upon high pressure. Their engines are constructed on this principle; it is a great loss to let off the steam when the

boat stops at a landing place; and therefore they have adopted the expedient of *unshipping the wheels*, leaving the steam still puffing, and pouring forth its smoke and its roaring noise. And then, when they are ready to move, the word is given to "SHIP THE WHEELS;" and they put on the paddles and go forward. Now I say to those good brethren who feel on this subject, and do not act. We want you to SHIP THE WHEELS. You have got the steam up, now let it on, and go forward.

The reason why I never have joined before, was, that I thought the society was not pursuing the best way to accomplish your object. Perhaps I was wrong, and if I was wrong, there are others now before me who are wrong. Now I ask my brethren, what good it will do to feel for the slave, if they do not act? The proper end of feeling is to act, to try to remove admitted evils. And, sir, the great weapon of all is *prayer to God*. We need prayer. Our nation needs prayer. Conceal it as we will, there are scattered under the fair soil of this land, the materials of a volcano. Popery, Infidelity, Slavery, are there, and it needs but the touch of the Almighty on this inflammable mass, to make this land another Dead Sea. Our hope is not in politicians, not in philosophers, not in political economists, but in the breath of prayer to God, that he would remember thoughts of mercy, and not of wrath, for our beloved land.

The slaveholder may be reached, through the breath of prayer. These two matters we present as our grand points—speaking the truth in love, and dependence on the Holy Spirit. We do not mean to excite insurrection, nor to goad the south. We believe there is in the slaveholder a conscience, there is sensibility, motives can reach him, he can be roused to look at his situation and his duty, he can be made to look upon the slave as his brother. How? By speaking the truth in love, with dependence on, and prayer for the Holy Ghost. I have risen up now to try to excite Christians to prayer on the subject. Do not trust in your anniversaries, in the press, in politicians, but put your trust in Israel's God. I would not have you suspend your efforts, but don't trust in an arm of flesh. If principles are ever triumphant, this country has got to bend her will to the will of God, and to bow her heart before the throne of God in humble prayer.

*In the second place*, I will ask, what do others fear? There are two classes of persons who have fears.

One is the slaveholder, who fears that we are secretly designing to come and take away his property. Now we do want the slaveholder to alter his false doctrine, by which he holds a man as a thing, a woman as goods and chattels, the doctrine that any man can have a right of property in another. I grant him that children are *under* their father during a certain period, and lawfully subjected to his authority. But this is solely with reference to *the good of the child*. A criminal who has forfeited his rights is subjected to restraint and to hard labor for the good of society. But God never gave man a right to take the person of another, and exact his labor for the good of the owner. Let the slaveholder give it up. As a minister of Christ I call on the slaveholder to give up the **STOLEN PROPERTY**.

Another class fear we are going to excite insurrection. Sir, does it require an Anti-Slavery Society at the north to make the slaves know that they are slaves? Or that they are men and ought to be free? The emancipation of the British West Indies is enough, of itself, to excite inquiry among them. And if there were not a



hope that deliverance would arise from some quarter, you know the consequence of inquiry. It is too late, after your Declaration of Independence, to carry on the system of slavery, and keep minds down by physical force.

There are other objections. It is said we shall lose our influence at the south. I have many friends at the south, whom I love. And if they choose to say, "We have such high blood that we will tar and feather any man who dares to advocate immediate abolition," very well. If it shuts me out from the privilege of visiting them, it also gives me the privilege, as a man and a Christian, and till lately I thought as an American too, to speak out my mind in the fear of the Lord.

I said I thought I had this right as an American. But when I find our Declaration of Independence denounced as a "rhetorical flourish," I hardly know where I am, or what is my country. If I have not a right to hold up the truth in love, every where, let this go on, and soon I shall not have it any where. If it is a crime for me, as a minister, to lift up my voice against an acknowledged evil, what are we coming to?

Shall we be frightened by anticipated evil, when the path of duty is clear? If I may not, as a minister, lift my voice against a public sin, by and by, instead of standing up in my pulpit to preach the *truth*, I shall find myself cut off from every thing that can disturb the minds of men, for fear of some horrid consequences. As an independent MAN, I cannot yield this point. If our brethren of the south will come and tell us our faults, kindly and openly, we will not refuse to hear, we will love them still, and love them the better. But they must not come here and tell us not to preach the truth. Shall men ever put down the free spirit of an American minister, who holds his commission from the high court of heaven, to preach the *truth*, and to tell the people their sins? No sir, it would be as mean as it is unholy, for me to keep silence for such bravado, when I see this volcano burning beneath our feet. Sir, I am as much of an alarmist as any one, when I see slavery kindling the volcanic fire, and my country standing on the edge of the tremendous crater.

It is said we do not understand the subject. We do understand it. Cannot a man teach geography until he has lived in the countries he describes? Cannot an editor speak of the politics of England or France, because he does not live there? Is Mason & Dixon's line an intellectual line, that shuts out light, or shuts in light? Must we first sympathise with slaveholders, before we can see that slaveholding is sin?

It is said we are indiscriminating in our condemnation. A gentleman in whose hearing I had condemned the theatre, asked me where was the harm. I did not say there was sin in the boards, in the painted scenes, in the seats, but there is sin in the *theatre*.—It is the THEATRE, as it is, as a whole, as a specific thing, which I condemn. Slavery as it is, we denounce as a crime. If your slaveholding is not sinful, if that which you do is different from the system of slavery, and therefore you should not be condemned with it, then I ask you not to step in between truth and it, and gratuitously receive the shafts aimed at crime. As a minister of the gospel, it is my duty to preach against sin. And if it is abetted by Presbyterian ministers, I will not say they are ignorant fanatics for doing it. But I do say they have drank so deeply into the spirit of slaveholding, that their moral sense is become obtuse. I see some of them in this house, and therefore I am the more glad to

speak out plainly, and say that every gospel minister, who is obliged to keep his mouth shut on any one subject, is in danger of hardening his conscience. I could not do it. Mr. Kirk then offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society most cordially welcome *George Thompson* from England, as a friend and fellow-laborer in the great cause of Emancipating the enslaved in this land, and do most affectionately commend him to the confidence and friendship of all the friends of the oppressed, in the confident expectation and fervent prayer, that his labors will continue to be followed by the same happy results, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, have heretofore attended them.

After reading the resolution, he said, we must admit that England has gone before us in this matter. I rejoice in what she has done. While we were consolidating our political institutions, she was taking the lead of us in abolishing first the slave trade, and then slavery throughout her dominions. Sir, we have received many good things from our mother country, and not among the least, though among the last, I regard the gift of our esteemed friend, GEORGE THOMPSON, whom I heartily welcome, and to whom I am happy to give place.

**MR. GEORGE THOMPSON** rose, and offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the practice of suffering a sixth portion of the population of this Christian land, to perish, destitute of the volume of Revelation, and the ministry of the Gospel, is inconsistent with the profession of zeal for the conversion of the world.

Sir, the feelings of my heart at this moment are almost too deep for utterance. When I think where I stand, of the topic upon which I am called to speak, the mighty interests which it involves, of the danger that a feeble or injudicious advocacy may peril the cause of the two and a half millions who are my clients, I tremble in view of my responsibility. When I think too that there is in this land, in this city, a countryman of my own as deeply pledged to this cause as myself, who, if he were here, could in tones more thrilling, with argument more forcible, and with age, talents, and character vastly more commanding, plead for them that are in bonds, and that he has left it to my youth and feebleness and folly, I am scarcely able to proceed, and almost willing to retire in mortified silence, and leave another blank in the proceedings of the day.

I am not ignorant of the prejudices I have to overcome in the discussion of the question of slavery in this country. Upon the threshold I am met with this charge, 'You are a foreigner,' I plead guilty ; where is the sentence ? Yet I am not a foreigner. I am no foreigner to the language of this country. I am not a foreigner to the religion of this country. I am not a foreigner to the God of this country. Nor to her interests—nor to her religious and political institutions. Yet I was not born here. Will those who urge this objection tell me how I could help it ? If my crime is the having been born in another country, have I not made the best reparation in my power, by removing away from it, and coming as soon as I could to where I should have been born ? (Much laughter.) I have come over the waves of the mighty deep, to look upon your land and to visit you. Has not one God made us

all? Who shall dare to split the human family asunder? who shall presume to cut the link which binds all its members to mutual amity? I am no foreigner to your hopes or your fears, and I stand where there is no discriminating hue but the color of the soul. I am not a foreigner, I am a man: and nothing which affects human nature is foreign to me, (I speak the language of a slave.)

"But what have you known about our country? How have you been prepared to unravel the perplexities of our policy and of our party interests? How did you get an intimate acquaintance with our customs, our manners, our habits of thought and of action, and all the peculiarities of our national condition and character, the moment you set your foot upon our shores?" And is it necessary I should know all this before I can be able or fit to enunciate the truths of the Bible? to declare the mind and will of God as he has revealed it in his word?

"But you do not care about us or our welfare." Then why did I leave my own country to visit yours? It was not, certainly, to better my circumstances: for they have not been bettered. I never did, and I never will, better them by advocating this cause. I may enlarge my heart by it: I may make an infinite number of friends among the wretched by it: but I never can or will fill my purse by it. "But you are a foreigner—and have no right to speak here." I dismiss this—I am weary of it. I *have* an interest in America, and in all that pertains to her. And let my right hand forget its cunning, and let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I am ever capable of misrepresenting or maligning her, or of sowing the seeds of animosity among her inhabitants. He might truly say, though in the words of another,

I love thee :—witness heaven above,  
That I this land, this people love;  
And rail my slanderers as they will,  
Columbia, I will love thee still.  
Nor love thee less when I do tell  
Of crimes that in thy bosom dwell.  
There is within thy gates a pest,  
Gold, and a Babylonish vest;  
Repent thee then, and swiftly bring,  
Forth from the camp the accursed thing:  
Consign it to remorseless fire,  
Watch till the latest spark expire,  
Then strew its ashes on the wind,  
Nor leave an atom wreck behind.

Yet while he said this, he would also add, if possible with still stronger emphasis. Let my right hand forget her cunning, and let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I desert the cause of the American abject—or cease to plead, so long as the clanking of chains shall be heard in the very porch of the temple, and beneath the walls of your capitol. If any shall still say, I have no right to speak, I will agree to quit the assembly, on condition that that objector will furnish to me a plea which shall avail in the day of judgment, when my Maker shall ask me why I did not do, in America, that which all the feelings of my heart, and all the dictates of my judgment, and all the principles too, of God's own gospel so powerfully

prompted me to do? If the great Judge shall say to me, "When human misery claimed you, why did you not plead the cause of suffering humanity?" will any one give me an excuse that will avail as a reply to such a question? Is there any such excuse? [Here he paused.] Shall it be, because the misery for which I should have pleaded was across the water? If this is the principle, then cease your splendid embassies of mercy to China and Hindostan: abandon the glorious missionary cause: and let us read in your papers and periodicals no more of those eloquent and high toned predictions about the speedy conversion of the world.

"But you are a monarchist, you were born the subject of a king, and we are republicans." Yes: and perhaps it was because I loved a republic better, that I left the dominions of the monarch, that I gave up the tinsel and the trappings of a king, for the plain coat and the simple manners of your President. But granting me to be a monarchist, will that do as an excuse before the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords?

"Ah, but we quarrelled once. You taxed us, and we would not be taxed: and now we will have nothing more to do with you." Indeed; and may our artisans construct your machinery, and our Irishmen feed your furnaces, and dig you canals; may our advocates come to your bar, and our ministers to your pulpits, and shall all, all be made welcome but the advocate of the slave? Should I be welcome to you all, if I had but renounced the cause of humanity?

"But the newspapers abuse you—they are all against you; and therefore you had better go back to where you came from." Yes; if I fear the newspapers. But supposing I care nothing about the newspapers, and am heartily willing that every shaft that can fly from all the presses of the land shall be launched against me, is it a good reason then? Leave me, I pray you, to take care of the newspapers, and the newspapers to take care of me: I am entirely easy on that score.

But now as to the question before us. The gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Birney,] has gone very fully into its civil and political bearings; that aspect of it I shall not touch: I have nothing to do with it. I shall treat it on religious ground exclusively; on principles which cannot be impugned, and by arguments which cannot be refuted. I ask the abolition of slavery from among you, not because it dooms its victims to hard labor, nor because it compels them to a crouching servility and deprives them of the exercise of civil rights: though all these are true. No: I ask for the illumination of the minds of immortal beings of our species; I seek to deliver woman from the lash, and from all that pollutes and that degrades her; I plead for the ordinances of religion; for the diffusion of knowledge; for the sanctification of marriage; for the participation of the gospel. And if you ask my authority I answer *there* it is, (pointing to the Bible,) and let him that refutes me, refute me from that volume.

The resolution I offer has respect to the moral and the spiritual condition of your colored population, and I do say that while *one-sixth* of your entire population are left to perish without the word of God or the ministry of the gospel, that your splendid missionary operations abroad justly expose you before the whole world, to the charge of inconsistency. Your boast is that your missionaries have gone into all the world; that you are consulting with the other Christian nations for the illumination of the whole earth; and you have your missionary stations in all climes visited by the sun, from the frosts of Lapland to the sunny isles of Greece,

and the scorching plains of Hindostan; amidst the Christless literature of Persia, and the revolting vices of Constantinople. God grant that they may multiply a thousand fold—and continue to spread till not a spot shall be left on the surface of our ruined world where the ensign of the cross shall not have been set up. But will you, at the same time, refuse this gospel to one-sixth of your own home-born population? And will you not hear me, when I ask that that word of life, which you are sending to the nations of New Holland, and all the islands of the farthest sea, may be given to your slaves? When I plead for two millions and a half of human beings in the midst of your own land, left nearly, if not wholly, destitute of the blessings of God's truth? What spiritual wants have the heathen which these poor slaves have not? And what obligation binds you to the one which does not equally bind you to the other? You own your responsibility to the heathen of the other parts of the world, why not to the heathen of this continent? And if to the heathen of one portion of the continent, why not to the no less heathen in another portion of it?

The resolution has reference to the diffusion of the Bible: and here I am invulnerable. You have offered to give, within twenty years, a copy of the Scriptures to every family of the world; you are now translating the sacred volume into all the languages of the earth, and scattering its healing leaves wherever men are found: and may I not say a word for the more than two millions at your door? Men whom you will not allow so much as to look into that book? Whom you forbid to be taught to read it, under pain of death? Why shall not these have the lamp of life? Are these no portion of the families of the south whom you are pledged to supply? Is it any wonder there should be darkness in your land, that there should be spiritual leanness in your churches, that there should be Popery among you, when you thus debar men of the Bible? Is it not a fact, that while you have said you will give a Bible to every family in the world, not one of the families of slaves in the southern states is to be found included in the benefaction? Of all the four hundred and sixty thousand families of your slaves, show me one that is included in your purpose or your plan? There is not one. If it would be wicked to blot out the sun from the heavens; if it would be wicked to deprive the earth of its circumambient air, or to dry up its streams of water, is it less wicked to withhold the word of God from men? to shut them out from the means of saving knowledge? to annihilate the cross? to take away the corner stone of human hope? to legislate away from your fellow beings the will of God as recorded in his own word?

In view of the retributions of the judgment, I plead for these men, disinherited of their birth-right. And once for all, I say, that every enterprise to enlighten, convert, and bless the world, must be branded with base hypocrisy, while millions at home are formally and by law deprived of the gospel of life, of the very letter of the Bible. And what has been the result? Christianity has been dethroned; she is gone: there is no weeping mercy to bless the land of the slave: it is banished forever, as far as human laws can effect it. Brethren, I know not how you feel, nor can I tell you how I feel, when I behold you urging by every powerful argument, the conversion of the world, while such a

state of things is at your door; when I see you all tenderness for men you never saw; and yet seeming destitute of all pity for those you see every day.

Suppose now that in China the efforts of your missionary should make one of the dark heathen a convert to the peaceful doctrine of the cross. What would be the duty of such a convert? Learning that there was a country where millions of his fellow-sinners were yet destitute of the treasure that had enriched him for eternity, would he not leave the loved parents of his childhood, and the place of his father's sepulchres, and tracing his way across the waste of waters, would he not come to bestow the boon upon men in America? Would he not come here to enlighten our darkness? And would he not be acting reasonably? according to the principles and the commands of the very Bible you gave him?

And now I ask, what is the Christianity of the south? Is it not a chain-forging christianity? a whip-platting christianity? a marriage-denouncing, or, at best, a marriage-discouraging christianity? Is it not, above all, a Bible-withholding Christianity? You know that the evidence is incontestible. I anticipate the objection. "We cannot do otherwise. It may be true, there are in the South not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the slaves; but we can't help it: there is an impassable wall; we can't throw the Bible over it; and if we attempt to make our way through it, there stands the gibbet on the other side. It is not to be helped." Why? "SLAVERY is there." Then away with slavery. "Aye, but how? Do you want the slave to cut his master's throat?" By no means. God forbid. I would not have him hurt one hair of his head, even if it would secure him freedom for life. "How then are we to get rid of it? By carrying them home?" Home? where? where is their home? Where, but where they were born? I say, let them live on the soil where they first saw the light and breathed the air. Here, here, in the midst of you, let justice be done. "What? release all our slaves? turn them loose? spread a lawless band of paupers, vagrants, and depredators upon the country?" Not at all. We have no such thought. All we ask is the annihilation of an unfounded right of property in man, and the substitution of equal control for private and arbitrary power. Cannot this be done? Surely it can. There is enough of energy in the land to annihilate the whole evil; and all we ask is permission to publish truth, and to set forth the claims of the great and eternal principles of justice and equal rights; and then let them work out their own results. Let the social principles operate. Leave man to work upon man, and church upon church, and one body of people upon another, until the slave states themselves shall voluntarily loose the bonds and break every yoke. All this is legitimate and fair proceeding. It is common sense. It is sound philosophy. Against this course slavery cannot stand long. How was it abolished in England? By the fiat of the legislature, you will say. True: but was there no preaching of the truth beforehand? Was there no waking up of the public mind? no appeals? no investigations? no rousing of public feelings, and concentration of the public energy? Had there been nothing of this, the glorious act would never have passed the parliament; and the British dependencies would still have mourned under the shade of this moral Upas.

It was well said by one of the gentlemen who preceded me, that there is a conscience at the south; and that there is the word of God at the south; and they have fears and hopes like our own: and in penning the appeals of reason and religion we cannot be laboring in vain. I will therefore say, that the hope of this cause is in the churches of God. There are church members enough of themselves to decide the destinies of slavery, and I charge upon the 17,000 ministers in this land that they connive at, and perpetuate this end: that they do not remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Were these all to do their duty, this monster which has so long been brooding over our land would soon take his flight to the nethermost hell, where he was begotten. How can these refuse to hear me? They are bound to hear; Unitarians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, be their name or their sect's name, what it may, are bound to hear—for a minister is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts: and if they will withhold their aid when God calls for it, the Lord will make them contemptible in the eyes of all the people.

Finally: this Anti-Slavery Society is not opposing one evil only: it is setting its face against all the vices of the land. What friend of religion ought to re-vile it? Surely the minister of Christ least of all: for it is opening his path before him; and that over a high wall that he dare not pass. Can the friend of Education be against us? A society that seeks to pour the light of science over minds long benighted: a society that aims to make the beast a man: and the man an angel? Ought the friend of the Bible to oppose it? Surely not. Nor can any of these various interests of benevolence thrive until slavery is first removed out of the way.

Mr. T. in closing, observed that he had risen to-day under peculiar feelings. Two of his countrymen had been deputed to visit this country, one of them a member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Society, for the extinction of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, and belonging to a Christian denomination which had actually memorialized all their sister churches in this land on this subject. My heart leaped when I learned that they were to be here; especially that one of them whose name stood before the blank which is to be left in the record of this day's proceeding. Where is he now? He is in this city: why is he not here? The reason I shall leave for himself to explain. Sir, said Mr. T., in this very fact I behold a new proof of the power, of the omnipotence of slavery: by its torpedo power a man has been struck dumb, who was eloquent in England on the side of its open opposers. What! is it come to this? Shall he or shall I advocate the cause of emancipation, of immediate emancipation, only because we are Englishmen? Perish the thought! before I can entertain such an idea I must be recreant to all the principles of the Bible, to all the claims of truth, of honor, of humanity. No sir: if man is not the same in every latitude; if he would advocate a cause with eloquence and ardor in Exeter Hall in the midst of admiring thousands, but because he is in America can close his lips and desert the cause he once espoused, I denounce, I abjure him as a coadjutor in the cause in which I am engaged. Let him carry his philanthropy home again; there let him display it in the loftiest or the tenderest strains; but never let him step his foot abroad, until he is prepared to show to the world that he is the friend of his kind of every country.

[The Rev. Mr. Hoby, of Birmingham, one of the Baptist delegates from England, to whom Mr. Thompson's remarks had reference, rose and expressed his desire to be heard.]

The President said he would put the question. Cries of "hear him! hear him!" and of "no—no—adjourn!" were heard in different parts of the church. Mr. Hoby still earnestly pressing his request, the President acquiesced.]

Mr. Hoby then observed, that he extremely regretted the course of remark which had been indulged in by the Rev. gentleman who had just addressed the meeting. As for his colleague, Dr. Cox, he would, no doubt be perfectly able to reply to what Mr. H. had been pained to hear. Dr. Cox was the last man to flinch from what his duty and his principles demanded at his hands; but that which might be duty in one country and under one set of circumstances, might not be so in another country and under circumstances very different. The feelings which were entertained by this Society on the subject of slavery, were those in which both himself and his colleague fully shared: but at the same time they were actuated by a strong solicitude, and an earnest desire before God, that they might not compromise the interests of other objects, in reference to which they had been specially deputed. He trusted that they were both acting in the fear of God: and only influenced by a desire to aid his cause. For himself, he had not been invited to take any part in the exercises of the present meeting; nor should he have uttered one word, but for the sake of imploring his esteemed friend not to throw out remarks which could only be calculated to injure his colleague, Dr. Cox, in those coming exercises of the week, in which he expected to take a part. The reasons of his absence would be given in the public papers.

Mr. Thompson said, "then let the matter rest." Expressions of much dissatisfaction were now heard in various parts of the house. "We want to hear no foreigners lecture us—he has uttered nothing but one tissue of falsehoods respecting the south." Mr. T. exclaimed that he had said nothing but what it was his duty to say. He blushed to think he was an Englishman. What he had spoken he had spoken; and should retract nothing. He had remonstrated the day before with Dr. Cox, and had reminded him of what would be the hopes and expectations of his friends in England from him. He was ready and willing to settle the whole matter between himself and Dr. Cox, in London, in Birmingham, or at Hackney. The country would judge between them. But he still said that England had been degraded that day.

[Hissing and plaudits.]

The President remonstrated: but Mr. Thompson said he was a friend of free discussion, and a free expression of sentiment: and he would wish to meet those who objected, were there time for it, in a further discussion. He hoped he should obtain credit for one thing at least: it was that he loved the slave. He had appeared as the advocate of mothers, of brothers, of sisters, deprived of Sabbaths, denied the Bible, shut out from gospel privileges, stripped of every thing that made life dear or death happy: and he was ready to answer at the final audit for what he had said and done. Yet he was conscious he had fallen short of entering fully into the spirit of the text which commanded him to remember those that were in bonds as bound with them." He trusted God would approve his course. God saw and



knew that he was grieved, that he was pained at heart to think that his countryman who ought to have been with him, and even more forward than himself, had forsaken him. No excuse that might now be given would be of much consequence. It was too late.

*[For the foregoing reports of the speeches at the anniversary, the society is indebted to the N. Y. Observer, and the N. Y. Evangelist.]*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, HELD AT CLINTON HALL, IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 12TH, 1835.

At 4 o'clock, P. M., the President, ARTHUR TAPPAN, took the chair, prayer was offered, and the following gentlemen were chosen assistant secretaries, viz: Elizur Wright, Jr., Rev. George Storrs and Henry B. Stanton.

The following gentlemen then enrolled their names as delegates from auxiliary societies.

ROLL OF DELEGATES.

MAINE.

*State Society.*—Joseph P. Fessenden, Stephen Thurston, Carlton Hurd, George E. Adams, Ebenezer Dole, Robert Gardner, George Shepherd, John Winslow.

*Brunswick.*—George E. Adams.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*State Society.*—George Storrs, Daniel Hoyt.

VERMONT.

*State Society.*—Orson S. Murray, Josiah F. Goodhue, Rowland T. Robinson.

MASSACHUSETTS.

*State Society.*—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, E. M. P. Wells, Sewall Harding, S. E. Sewall, Robert B. Hall, Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., Samuel J. May, S. G. Shipley, Baron Stow.

*Boston Young Men's.*—David H. Ela, Nathaniel Southard, John Putnam, J. V. Himes, Wm. S. Porter, Increase Gilbert, L. Southard, D. Putnam.

*Salem and vicinity.*—George B. Cheever.

*New Bedford.*—John O. Choules.

*Amherst College.*—Edward C. Pritchett, H. G. Pendleton.

*Holden.*—Charles White.

## RHODE ISLAND.

*Providence.*—John Blain, Henry E. Benson, Samuel L. Gould, Henry Cushing.

*Pawtucket.*—Ray Potter, Wm. P. Henry, Edward Mason.

*Female Juvenile Prov.*—John Prentice.

## CONNECTICUT.

*Windham County.*—Thomas Huntington, Herbert Williams.

*New Haven.*—Ephraim Lyman, Ebenezer N. Thompson.

## NEW-YORK.

*Rochester.*—John F. Bush, O. N. Bush, Wm. C. Bloss.

*Oneida County.*—Charles Stuart, Beriah Green, Aaron Judson, E. Fairchild, Amos Savage.

*Farmington.*—Wm. R. Smith.

*New-York City.*—Wm. Johnson, Ch. W. Denison, J. W. Higgins, James Dunn, Theodore S. Wright, Christopher Rush, S. W. Benedict, D. Dunbar, Wm. H. Blackford, John Harrold.

*N. Y. City Young Men's.*—L. Clarke, Henry T. Brayton, George R. Barker, J. F. Robinson.

*Whitestown.*—W. M. Beebe, George Pcacock.

*Troy.*—John J. Miter, C. Lockwood, Wm. Yates, N. S. S. Beman, Gurdon Grant, Henry Z. Hayner, Wm. H. Hadley, Walter S. Seymour.

*Catskill.*—Robert Jackson, W. H. Smith.

*Perry.*—Samuel F. Phoenix.

*Utica.*—Oliver Wetmore, Spencer Kellogg, Francis Wright.

*Albany City.*—Timothy Fassett, Lambert Norton, Calvin Philco, Edward N. Kirk, George B. Ide.

*Cazenovia.*—James Nickerson.

*New Hartford.*—Abiram Mills.

*Poughkeepsie.*—Samuel Thompson, Ira Armstrong.

*Wesleyan A. S. Society of New-York City.*—George Storrs, Adrastus Doolittle, N. Dunn, T. Pitts, M. Floyd, sen., H. R. Piercy.

*Executive Committee of A. A. S. Society.*—A. Tappan, John Rankin, Lewis Tappan, Wm. Goodell, A. L. Cox, Joshua Leavitt, E. Wright, Jr., Theodore S. Wright, Samuel E. Cornish.

## NEW JERSEY.

*Boonton.*—Ebenezer Drury, Wm. H. Grimes.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

*Philadelphia City Society.*—E. P. Atlee, Thomas Shipley, Henry Grew, Joshua Coffin, James M. McCrumell, Arnold Buffum.

*Philadelphia Young Men's Society*.—Wm. Dorsey, Wm. H. Scott, John Forsythe.

## OHIO.

*State Society*.—Henry B. Stanton, Horace Bushnell, Huntington Lyman, Thomas Pennock, H. C. Howells, Dyer Burgess.

## KENTUCKY.

*State Society*.—James G. Birney.

The following gentlemen took seats as members, not representing any societies.

## NEW-YORK.

Richard P. G. Wright, Samuel S. Wells, James S. Gibbons.

## CONNECTICUT.

Wm. Hopkins, R. S. Crampton.

## PHILADELPHIA.

Abraham L. Pennock.

The Society then proceeded to the appointment of officers, when the following gentlemen were chosen :

**PRESIDENT,**

**ARTHUR TAPPAN, OF NEW-YORK.**

**VICE PRESIDENTS,**

GEN. SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Maine.

REV. GEORGE STORRS, New Hampshire.

ROWLAND T. ROBINSON, Vermont.

REV. BARON STOW, Massachusetts.

REV. JOHN BLAIN, Rhode Island.

ELI IVES, M. D. Connecticut.

REV. BERAH GREEN, New-York.

REV. DR. WEEKS, New Jersey.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM GIBBONS, M. D., Delaware.

JOHN NEEDLES, Maryland.

JOSEPH JANNEY, District of Columbia.

REV. SAMUEL CROTHERS, Ohio.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., Kentucky

NATHANIEL FIELD, Indiana.

HON. WILLIAM JAY, *Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., *Secretary for Domestic Correspondence*

ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D., *Recording Secretary.*

## MANAGERS.

### MAINE.

WILLIAM SMITH,  
SWAN L. POMEROY,  
DAVID THURSTON,  
CALVIN NEWTON,  
GEORGE SHEPHERD,  
RICHARD H. VOSE,  
NATHAN WINSLOW.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DAVID ROOT,  
CALVIN CUTLER,  
NATHANIEL P. RUSSELL,  
GEORGE W. WARD,  
JAMES WILSON,  
AMOS CAMBELL.

### VERMONT.

ASA ALDIS,  
JAMES BALLARD,  
J. P. MILLER,  
JAMES MILLIGAN,  
OLIVER J. EELLS,  
AGUSTINE CLARK,  
ELISHA BASCOM,  
WILLIAM ARTHUR,  
ORSON S. MURRAY.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

SAMUEL J. MAY,  
GEORGE B. CHEEVER,  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
ELLIS GRAY LORING,  
DAVID LEE CHILD,  
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,  
ISAAC KNAPP,  
MOSES THACHER,  
JOHN G. WHITTIER,  
JACOB IDE,  
JOHN M. S. PERRY.

PHILEMON R. RUSSELL,  
LA ROY SUNDERLAND,  
DAVID T. KIMBALL,  
CHARLES SEWALL,  
THOMAS SPENCER,  
WILLIAM B. DODGE,  
WILLIAM OAKES,  
BENJAMIN PORTER,  
INGALLS KITTREDGE,  
MOSES PETTENGILL.

### RHODE ISLAND.

BENJAMIN J. FARNSWORTH,  
JAMES G. BARBADOES,  
JOSIAH CADY,  
HENRY CUSHING,  
JOHN PRENTICE,  
GEORGE W. BENSON,  
JAMES SCOTT,  
RAY POTTER.

### CONNECTICUT.

J. E. P. DEAN,  
E. N. THOMPSON,  
A. M. COLLINS,  
ALPHEUS KINGSLEY.

### NEW YORK.

SAMUEL PHOENIX,  
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,  
WILLIAM GREEN, JUN.,  
ISRAEL SMITH,  
JOHN P. CUSHMAN,  
JOHN DICKSON,  
H. G. LUDLOW,  
JOSHUA LEAVITT,  
WILLIAM GOODELL,  
LEWIS TAPPAN,  
GEORGE BOURNE,  
CHARLES W. DENISON,  
SAMUEL E. CORNISH,

JONATHAN MIDDLETON,  
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,  
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,  
PETER WILLIAMS,  
SAMUEL N. SWEET,  
WILLIAM ALLEN,  
W. W. REID,  
RICHARD P. G. WRIGHT,  
PHINEAS CRANDALL,  
THOMAS DOWLING,  
CHARLES MARRIOTT.

#### NEW-JERSEY.

PETER CANOUSE,  
JAMES WHITE,  
JAMES PARKHURST.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

JAMES FORTEN, SEN.  
ARNOLD BUFFUM,  
JOHN W. NEVIN,  
EDWIN P. ATLEE,  
THOMAS SHIPLEY,  
ROBERT PURVIS,  
JOSEPH CASSEY,  
ISAAC PARRISH,  
JOSHUA COFFIN,  
JAMES M. MC CRUMMELL,  
SAMUEL WILLIAMS,  
JOHN B. VASHON,

BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL,  
ENOCH MACK,  
THOMAS WHITSON,  
ABRAHAM D. SHAD,  
LINDLEY COATES.

#### OHIO.

ROBERT STEWART,  
JOHN RANKIN,  
ASA DRURY,  
O. K. HAWLEY,  
HENRY COWLES,  
JOHN M. STERLING,  
WOOLSEY WELLS,  
H. C. HOWELLS,  
JOHN M. MONTEITH.

#### KENTUCKY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,  
LUKE MUNSELL,  
JAMES H. THOME.

#### ALABAMA.

WILLIAM T. ALLAN.

#### MISSOURI.

JOB F. HALSEY,  
ANDREW BENTON.

The Committee of ten appointed at the informal meeting of delegates on Monday afternoon, to wait on Rev. Dr. Cox, of London, and request him to address the Society at its Anniversary, this day, reported that they had received a note in answer, of which the following is a copy :

MAY 12, 1835.

"Gentlemen,—If I decline the honor of appearing on your platform this day, on occasion of your anniversary meeting, I must be understood to assume a position of neutrality, not with regard to those great principles and objects which it is well known Britain in general, and our denomination in particular, have maintained and promoted, but with regard solely to the political bearings of the question, with which, as a stranger, a foreigner, a visitor, I could not attempt to intermeddle.

I am, gentlemen, yours respectfully,

F. A. COX."

Rev. A. A. Phelps from a committee appointed at the informal meeting to bring forward business for this meeting, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted :

1. Resolved, That this Society recommend that all its auxiliaries, so far as convenient, hold public meetings on the 4th of July, throughout the country, and take collections in aid of its funds.

2. Resolved, That this Society earnestly request that ladies, in every section of the land, organize themselves into Anti-Slavery societies, and sewing, or other associations, for the purpose of cooperating with us in the great work of emancipation; and that those ladies who have already done this, have the warmest thanks of the members of the parent institution for the prompt and efficient co-operation they have rendered.

3. Resolved, That this society rejoices in the formation and cooperation of juvenile Anti-Slavery societies and associations, and does earnestly desire that children in all parts of the country may be encouraged to form themselves into societies, that children who are free may thus aid in emancipating the children of this land who are now slaves.

4. Resolved, That this society regards with approbation and gratitude the formation of young men's Anti-Slavery societies, and earnestly hopes that young men throughout the country will embody themselves in similar associations, and give to the cause of emancipation the influence and vigor of their youthful energies.

On motion of L. Tappan,

Resolved, That when the Society adjourns, it adjourn to meet at the church, corner of Thompson and Houston streets, to-morrow morning, at half past 8 o'clock.

On motion of Arnold Buffum,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, to consider and report on the expediency of endeavoring to obtain the repeal of all laws of the general government, and of the non-slaveholding states, which recognize the principle of property in human beings.

Arnold Buffum, Joshua Coffin, and James G. Birney were appointed that committee.

An address from the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, was read, and ordered on file.

A report was also received from the same society, in regard to the condition of the schools for colored persons in the City of Philadelphia, which was accepted, and placed on file.

A communication from Rev. C. P. Grosvenor. was read, and on motion of R. Hall, was laid on the table. The society then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 13.

The meeting was called to order, Rev. Samuel J. May in the chair. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gardner.

Rev. G. Bourne, from the committee appointed last year to ascertain the number of ministers who hold slaves, presented a report and resolutions, of which the fourth resolution following was adopted by the society, and the remainder of the report recommended to the same Committee.

(4th Resolution.) Resolved, That the same committee be appointed to prepare an address upon the above topic, before the adjournment of the society, that it may be printed with the annual report.

Resolved, That this Society recommend to the Christians of the United States to memorialize the ecclesiastical bodies of their respective denominations on the subject of slavery, urging them to adopt measures for the removal of this crying enormity from the church and the nation.

On motion of George Thompson, the communication of Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor, and the accompanying resolution were referred to a committee, to consider and report thereon. George Thompson, Rev. John Blain and Rev. Beriah Green, were appointed the committee.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison,

Resolved, That the laws and penalties of the slaveholding states, which forbid our free colored citizens traveling through their borders or settling on their soil, under the pains and penalties of fine or imprisonment, are anti-republican, cruel and unconstitutional, and a bold infringement upon state rights, demanding strong expostulation and indignant remonstrance on the part of the people of the free states.

Mr. Birney, of Kentucky, at the invitation of the Society, made an interesting statement of facts in regard to the progress of the cause in that state. See Appendix A.

The Society then adjourned till to-morrow morning at half past 8 o'clock, at the same place.

THURSDAY MORNING, *May 14.*

Rev. Beriah Green in the chair. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Potter.

The following preamble and resolution were passed, offered by E. Wright, Jr.

Whereas the American Bible Society regards itself as unable directly to offer the Holy Scriptures to our enslaved brethren therefore.

Resolved, That we earnestly entreat that Society to request its auxiliaries to see to it, that every colored family in the United States be furnished with a copy of the Bible, and renewedly extend to that institution the offer of five thousand dollars towards the effort, on the condition proposed the last year, and that a committee of seven be appointed to communicate this proposal to the Managers of that institution at their present session.

The following persons were appointed by the chair to constitute that committee: Lewis Tappan, Rev. S. J. May, Ebenezer Dole, Thomas Wright, Rev. Duncan Dunbar, James G. Birney, and John Rankin.

This resolution called forth an animated discussion, but was at length passed by an almost unanimous vote.

Mr. Birney strongly advocated the measure as calculated to do great good, especially in regard to the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, where no legal restrictions exist against the distribution of the Scriptures. If the work could be done in those states, other states would follow the example. And who should do this work, or attempt it, but the American Bible Society? The assumption of it by a different society might justly be called an attack upon the Bible Society, but the offer to bear a part of the expenses, surely could not be so regarded.

On motion of Lewis Tappan.

Resolved, That an effort be made to raise \$30,000 for the use of the Society the present year, and that the abolitionists present pledge themselves to raise such sums as they may respectively subscribe.

This resolution was accompanied by the mover with a very lucid and practical plan for a much larger issue of Anti-Slavery publications. A subscription was at once commenced and advanced to \$14,500.

On motion of Wm. L. Garrison,

Resolved, That we earnestly urge upon our abolition brethren, throughout the union, the duty of giving a preference to the productions of free over slave labor.

Rev. George Bourne, from the committee on slaveholding ministers, presented a report and an address, which were adopted and ordered to be printed, under the direction of the Executive Committee. [Adjourned till half past three o'clock, P.M.]

In the afternoon Arnold Buffum was called to the chair. Prayer by Rev. Charles Stuart.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison,

Resolved. That we deem the principles and measures of the American Colonization Society to be unchristian, proscriptive and dangerous, that the same high and solemn considerations which led us to repudiate that Society from the beginning, still remain in our hearts not only without abatement, but with augmented power—and that its complete extinction is essential to the final triumph of our holy cause.



Resolved, That the letter from the Board of Baptist ministers in and near London, to their brethren in the United States is worthy of them, and deserves the grateful acknowledgements of this Society.

On motion of Rev. S. J. May,

Resolved, That the continuance of American slavery presents an insuperable obstacle to the evangelization of Africa, and exerts a paralyzing influence on all our Christian enterprises.

On motion of Dr. A. L. Cox,

Resolved, That we most highly estimate the services of our beloved and devoted brother George Thompson, and that we regard with increased satisfaction the influence of his labors among us, as most auspicious and effective in the great cause of human liberty.

On motion of Mr. Southard,

Resolved, That realizing our dependence on the blessing of Almighty God for the success of our cause, we consider it the indispensable duty of abolitionists to sustain, and conscientiously to attend the MONTHLY CONCERT of prayer for the slaves, on the last Monday evening of the month.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Easton,

Resolved, That this Society respectfully urges upon the delegates and the committees of its auxiliaries, throughout the country, the special importance of collecting information, respecting the character and the condition of the free colored population, and that in the prosecution of this work they avail themselves to the greatest possible extent, of the counsel and cooperation of their intelligent colored friends.

On motion of Rev. S. J. May,

Resolved, That the sentiment prevailing to a considerable extent that the giving of *oral instruction* to the slaves, refutes the charge that the light of the Gospel is withheld from millions in our land, is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Christianity.

The nominating committee reported the names of the following gentlemen as delegates to the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention. James G. Birney, Amos A. Phelps, Theodore S. Wright, Henry B. Stanton, George Storrs; Also, the following to the Convention of free people of color to be held at Philadelphia. George Thompson, Edwin P. Atlee, J. W. Higgins, S. S. Jocelyn and Jonathan Parkhurst. These appointments were confirmed.

On motion of Thomas Shipley,

Resolved, That we would encourage all persons opposed to slavery residing in slave states, to weigh well the disadvantage which the cause will suffer by their removal into the free states; and that they consider with the attention the subject

demands, whether they will be guiltless in the sight of God, if they omit exerting their efforts for the emancipation of their colored brethren.

On motion of Arnold Buffum,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare a memorial to Congress to be signed by the friends of universal freedom throughout the country, praying for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territorial governments of the United States; that they cause a sufficient number to be printed and circulated for signatures, and that one petition from each state, with all the signatures obtained among its citizens be forwarded to a member of Congress to be presented at the opening of the next session.

Resolved, That every abolitionist in the United States be particularly requested to devote the 4th of July and the 1st of August, ensuing, to obtain signatures to the aforesaid petitions.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society and of each of the auxiliary societies be requested to forward similar memorials to Congress as the petitions of their societies respectively.

On motion of Wm. Lloyd Garrison,

Resolved, That we duly appreciate those bright examples of peace, temperance, justice and humanity, which have been so long given to the world by the Society of Friends, yet we lament in view of the visible abatement of their ancient zeal, boldness and activity in this country, in the cause of abolition; that we earnestly desire their efficient cooperation with us in bringing American slavery to a speedy end, and that we consider them particularly bound by their principles and professions, to join in our great enterprise of mercy.

On motion of Charles W. Dennison,

Resolved, That this Society highly approve the organization on the plan recently adopted in Boston, of conferences of church members, of different denominations, for discussion and prayer on the subject of immediate emancipation.

Lewis Tappan and Arnold Buffum were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING, *May 15, 1835.*

Rev. Beriah Green in the chair, Prayer by Rev. Charles Stuart.

On motion of C. Stuart,

Resolved, That the friends and auxiliaries of the Society, be earnestly recommended to pay particular attention to the day appointed in June (25th) for fasting and prayer in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause.

On motion of Mr. Garrison,

Resolved, That the movements which have recently been made in France, for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, excite in our minds the liveliest interest, and lead us to hope that our brethren in that country will speedily triumph in their noble object, and that we most sincerely and joyfully extend to

them the right hand of fellowship, in effecting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world.

Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to the Duke de Broglie, in Paris.

On motion of Rev. Samuel J. May,

Resolved, That this Society cordially recommend to all its auxiliaries, the observance of the 1st of August annually, as a day of thanksgiving to God, for that signal event in his Providence, so auspicious to the cause of our oppressed countrymen, the abolition of slavery in the British West India Islands.

On motion of Charles Stuart,

Resolved, That this Society thank God for the peaceful and manly conduct, which through his grace, our dear colored brethren have been enabled to maintain during the past year, in the face of the most irritating provocations, and in some cases, of the most lawless outrages—that we look to God still to guide and guard them, and thus to render them increasingly instrumental in the deliverance of our oppressed citizens from bondage.

The committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, reported that they had attended to that duty, examined his vouchers, and found a balance due him on the 9th of May, 1835, of ninety-seven dollars, and twenty-seven cents.

On motion of Rev. S. J. May,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be printed under the direction of the Executive Committee. After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Burgess, of Ohio, the Society adjourned.

Attest,

ABRAHAM L. COX,

*Recording Secretary.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT

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### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN RANKIN, TREASURER.

#### DR.

To Expenses of Public Meetings	- - - - -	\$141 49
Cash paid for Printing	- - - - -	1906 25
“ Books, Stereotype, Plates, Engravings, &c.	- - - - -	546 00
“ Emancipator	- - - - -	2614 75
“ Agents	- - - - -	1833 57
“ Salaries	- - - - -	1850 07
“ Office expenses	- - - - -	587 34
“ Slave Suits	- - - - -	109 67
“ Sundries	- - - - -	240 15
		<hr/>
		\$9,831 29

#### CR.

By Balance per old account, audited May 8, 1834.	- - -	43
Cash received from sales at the office	- - - - -	684 37
“ 4th July Collections	- - - - -	143 00
“ Agents, do.	- - - - -	960 55
“ General Contributions	- - - - -	2579 43
“ New-York City do.	- - - - -	562 29
“ Members of the Executive Committee,		
do.	- - - - -	4803 95
Balance due	- - - - -	97 27
		<hr/>
		\$9831 29

NEW-YORK, May 9, 1835.

Errors Excepted,

JOHN RANKIN, TREASURER,  
*No. 8 Cedar street*

## PUBLISHING AGENT'S REPORT.

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[From January 9, 1835, to May 1, 1835.]

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, IN ACCOUNT WITH R. G.  
WILLIAMS, PUBLISHING AGENT.

DR.

To Cash paid for Paper, Printing, and office Expenses	-	\$505 36
"        paid John Rankin, Treasurer	- - - - -	160 00
		\$665 36

CR.

By Cash from Monthly Subscribers	-	\$667 68
"        For Publications sold	- - - - -	253 83
Sundry Small Donations	- - - - -	59 75
		\$981 26
Balance in Agents hands	- - - - -	\$315 90

R. G. WILLIAMS, *Publishing Agent.*

NEW-YORK, May 1, 1835.

The Subscribers have examined the accounts of the Publishing Agent and find them correct.

JOHN RANKIN,     }  
LEWIS TAPPAN,    } *Committee.*

MAY 30, 1835.



## SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting their Second Annual Report, would call upon the friends of immediate emancipation to "thank God and take courage."

During the year now closed, State Societies, auxiliary to this, have been formed in Maine, New-Hampshire, Kentucky, and Ohio. The number of minor societies, either auxiliary or on kindred principles, has increased from 60 to about 200.

Soon after the last Anniversary, the Anti-Slavery cause received efficient aid from the accession of Mr. Birney, of Kentucky. The fact of his being a Southern man, a distinguished agent of the Colonization Society, and of his proving his sincerity by emancipating his own slaves, gave great weight to his Letters, which of themselves were unanswerable arguments for the futility of Colonization, and the truth and efficiency of the doctrine of immediate emancipation. If he has not brought all good men openly to renounce colonization, he has at least placed the scheme in such a light that com-

paratively few such choose to defend it, and fewer still to give it practical support.

Wherever a corrupt and wicked public sentiment is to be changed, opposition must be expected to every measure of efficient reform. Such a change without opposition would be a miracle. Though none can feel more deeply the disgrace brought upon our country by the riots of last July, we can recur to those scenes with satisfaction, as furnishing the most conclusive proof that the remedy proposed by this Society penetrates to the seat of the disease. Such riots could not have occurred if public sentiment in relation to slavery had been *right*, nor if our principles had been capable of refutation by argument, nor if our measures had been inefficient. What had abolitionists *done* to provoke these riots? Let it be remembered that the first *mob* assembled in October, 1833, before the establishment of this or any society, in this city, to suppress a meeting called simply for "the friends of *Immediate Emancipation*." This shows in what estimation *present, practical* slavery is held. The American Anti-Slavery Society, at its formation, published a full and explicit declaration of sentiments and measures, by which its members were pledged to seek the abolition of slavery, only by moral, peaceful and constitutional means. They therein avowed their determination *not* to act in conformity to those customs which punish, by disfranchisement or expatriation, a portion of our fellow citizens for the com-



plexion that God has given them. In accordance with this determination they *acted*; and all they said and did was open and public. This was the whole of their offence. But mark the virulence of prejudice. Revenge was threatened. The daily presses, with few exceptions, opened their columns only to calumniate the abolitionists. They accused them incessantly of advocating intermarriages of whites and blacks, and of plotting the destruction of their country; and, by such means, raised a series of the most frenzied and ungovernable mobs that ever disgraced this, or perhaps any other civilized city. The calumnies which called forth the riots were too gross to be believed by all, or to be long believed by the most prejudiced. Still, it is said on every hand, the public feeling was outraged. So then there is a public feeling which cannot bear to have the colored people treated fairly and according to their merits, as men and as fellow citizens with ourselves. Here is the reason why slavery stands firm in Republican America. Till this public feeling is rectified, it always will. The appeal "Am I not a MAN and a *brother*?" is answered with a proud and contemptuous NO. 2,250,000 Slaves, by a public sentiment which holds them to be an inferior race, are consigned to the miserable alternative of bondage or exile; or rather, to bondage with the false hope of exile, for the avarice which brought them across the ocean will never suffer them to be carried back.

'There has been throughout the year, as heretofore, a mighty effort to silence remonstrance and suppress discussion. This has no where been more remarkable than at Lane Seminary. In that institution a thorough investigation and discussion of the subject had done its work. The students had generally taken the side of immediate emancipation. A lively and active sympathy for the colored people was brought into exercise. A delightful harmony reigned within the Seminary. But this change had cut to the quick the festering prejudices of the white people, both at the north and the south; and the guardians of the institution supposed a storm was gathering over it. What could be done? There was no hope of reasoning the young men back to the slavish slumbers from which they had aroused. It was the application of reason to the facts of the case, which had done the mischief. But, what could not be done by argument, it was hoped might be done by authority. The originators of the Anti-Slavery Society were ordered to perform its funeral rites, and as a peace-offering, its puny rival was thrown into the same grave. The mass of the students, who had resorted to that institution to cultivate their powers of thought, finding one large field of inquiry thus unceremoniously closed upon them by those who should have been the first to lead them into it, pursued a course alike honorable to themselves and worthy of the noble cause they had espoused.

When posterity shall compare the "Statements," published by the Faculty on the one side, and by the Students on the other, they will probably wonder at the maturity of the so called "boys."\*

The reasons assigned by the Faculty for this arbitrary proceeding, are worthy of serious consideration. They did *not* allege that the *principles* adopted by the Students were false, nor that they had no right to discuss the subject, nor that they had exercised their right of discussion to the injury of their other studies. The substance of the charge was, that they had applied their principles in an injudicious *manner*;—that is to say, they had associated with colored people, just as missionaries may and must do in foreign countries, but as it is not custom-

\* MR. WELD, in a letter to JAMES HALL, Esq., Editor of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, thus replies to the atrocious charge, that the Students of Lane Seminary were "boys."

"That the public may know something more of these 'minors at school,' who are rebuked for examining the subject of slavery, 'until they have acquired the privileges of acting as men, and voting as freemen,' I will give a few statistics of the theological students, whose infantile prattlings have so ruffled the equanimity of the reviewer. *Thirty* of the theological class are over twenty-six years old, *fourteen* are over twenty-eight, and *nine* are between thirty and thirty-five. Two of the class were members of colleges seventeen years ago; two others graduated eight years since; six others, three years since; and the remainder have either graduated, more recently, or have gone through a course of study substantially equal to a college course. One of the class was a practicing physician for ten years; twelve others have been public agents for state and national benevolent institutions, employed in public lecturing in various parts of the Union. Six of the class are married men; three of them have been so for nearly ten years. For more specific information, relative to these striplings, permit me, sir, to refer you to Ely Taylor, Esq., joint proprietor with yourself in the *Western Monthly Magazine*; and the enterprising publisher of the *Cincinnati Journal*. Some years since, Mr. Taylor was the classmate of twenty of the

ary here; and, in consequence of this, colored visitors had dared to approach the sacred edifices of the Seminary! We give prominence to this astounding fact, because upon it depend very important conclusions. Let it be distinctly borne in mind, then, that the Faculty condemned nothing in the Students but their intercourse on terms of equality with the colored people; yet they do not forbid *such intercourse*, but do forbid all organized effort to *promulgate the opinions* which are supposed to lead to it. And let it be further observed, that they do not condemn this intercourse as *morally wrong*, but as jeopardizing the interests of the Seminary. Hence we are to infer, that the *truth* does lead to a change of conduct towards our colored brethren—such a change as public sentiment

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members of the present theological class, and the *younger* brother of not a few of them. So much for the babyhood of the theological students. In the literary department, eighteen of the students are between twenty-five and thirty years of age; twenty-eight are between twenty-one and twenty-five, and ten are between nineteen and twenty-one. There is but one regular member of the institution under nineteen years old.

I will state a few facts, to show that those who took part in the recent discussion were thoroughly acquainted with slavery in all its forms.

The discussion occupied eighteen evenings. There were eighteen speakers; eight of them were born, and had always lived in slave states. The average age of the eight speakers was twenty-four years. The remaining ten speakers had resided more or less in slave states; six of them from one to six years. The average age of these speakers was twenty-seven years. The eighteen speakers gave, in their addresses, the results of residence and personal observation, for years, in each of the following slave states. Virginia, twenty-nine years; South Carolina, twenty-three; Alabama, twenty-four; Tennessee, twenty-two; Missouri, twenty-three; Kentucky, sixty-four. Besides these, they gave the result of observation during residences of from six months to five years in Louisiana, Arkansas Territory, Maryland, North Carolina, and Mississippi.

is not yet ready to tolerate. The young men of the Seminary were not guilty of doing *wrong*—but of doing *right* too soon.

In regard to the admission of colored students to our seminaries of learning, progress has been made during the year. To several good and flourishing institutions they are expressly invited.

During this year we have seen the working of the act which emancipated 800,000 British Slaves. The enemies of immediatism have watched for a failure. They have magnified every trifling disorder, imputing it to the *freedom of the Slave*, instead of the tyranny of the master; but in vain. The results have fully verified the predictions of the Immediatists. Where emancipation was immediate and unconditional, as in Antigua and Bermuda, there has been no disorder. A safe and profitable system of free labor has taken the place of slavery, to the satisfaction of all parties. Where a forced apprenticeship has been substituted for labor—merely an approach *towards* justice—less can be said of the industry and good order of the people. Yet things are better than before, and far better than the masters had any right to expect. Silent as the newspaper press has been to this most important experiment, it is greatly influencing our own country.

The West India experiment has already shown more than that the slaves are fit for freedom: it has shown that slavery was the only cause that

shut out the light from them. Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies have at once found ample room for their benevolent labors. Whole cargoes of Bibles and Tracts have been sent to the Islands, and the Missionaries have been received along with these precious presents, with the highest joy. A desire to learn has been manifested on the part of the newly emancipated, such as was never known before. How long shall slavery withhold the Bible, and its blessings from 2,250,000 of our own countrymen?

The cause of Colonization has evidently lost ground in the confidence and support of the better portion of the community. This is indicated by the shrinking from discussion, the diminution of its Fourth of July and other collections; and by the fact that many in New-England who have been heretofore strenuous for Colonization, and who yet stand aloof from us, unwilling to remain totally idle, have been endeavoring to strike out a middle course of action.

During its last session, the attention of Congress was called to the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia. With a zeal and boldness which do him great credit, the Hon. John Dickson of New-York, took up the cause of the Slaves in the House of Representatives. The attempt which he made to have the petitions referred to a select committee was defeated by a motion to lay on the table. It is hardly necessary to add, that this

victory of injustice was achieved by the aid of Northern votes—showing the necessity of reforming public sentiment at the North, as well as at the South. But notwithstanding this failure, the friends of the cause have reason to be encouraged in the brightening hope, that Congress will soon discuss and act on Slavery in the territories under its exclusive jurisdiction.

The past year has witnessed many occasions of the deepest interest, on which an impulse has been given to the cause of human rights never to be forgotten. Soon after the last Anniversary, the New-England Convention was held at Boston. Its sessions were numerously attended, and of the most cheering character. By its labors, a number of masterly documents were produced, which have greatly enlightened and changed the public mind.

The Convention at Augusta, the capital of Maine, on the 15th of October, resulted in the formation of a State Auxiliary, and the kindling up of an active sympathy for the oppressed. The character of the men engaged in this Auxiliary, and the excellent spirit with which they commenced their labors, give the most cheering hopes of their success.

A State Auxiliary was organized by a Convention at Concord, in New-Hampshire, on the 12th of November. The self-denying and abundant labors of our brethren in that state are worthy of all praise. The Committee would not forget to mention the noble example of the Ladies of Concord,

who, nothing daunted by the clamors and threats of a riotous mob, proceeded to form a society and to plead for the slave with a generous enthusiasm.

The State Society of Vermont was formed a little previous to the last Anniversary, and has since been actively engaged. Its Annual Report is an interesting and able document.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society, the pioneer in this holy cause has been at work with its accustomed zeal. It has assumed the name of "The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," and its labors will hereafter be confined to that state. When we look at the present commanding influence of this Society, and remember the contempt which was poured upon the devoted *handful* who formed it three years ago, we may well exclaim, "How great a matter a little *fire* kindleth!"

The labors of Mr. Birney, in Kentucky, have resulted in the formation of a State Auxiliary which was organized by a convention at Danville, on the 19th of March. The proceedings of this convention have been published and they constitute a proof of the efficiency of our doctrines to which we would refer those of our opponents who ask, "Why do you not preach immediate emancipation at the South?"

On the 22nd of April, a Convention was held at Putnam, Ohio, and an auxiliary organized in that powerful state. The proximity of Ohio to the Slave states, from which it has derived much of its



population, and the constant intercourse which takes place in consequence, make its influence highly important in this cause. The spirit of the Convention, and the signal blessings that has attended the labors of Mr. Weld, and other agents, give reason to hope that the State of Ohio will redeem its character, and stand first in the cause of universal freedom.

Though no State Society has yet been organized in New-York, efficient Auxiliaries have been formed in several principal cities and counties. We notice especially those of Utica, Perry, Farmington, Rochester, Palmyra, Buffalo, Monroe and Oneida counties, and those recently formed in Troy and Albany. The Committee cannot but hope, that a powerful State Society will be formed during the coming year.

Measures are in progress for the formation of State Societies in Rhode Island and Connecticut. In the former state the Anti-Slavery Society of Providence is at work with the most commendable activity and decided success.

The Society has had in its service, during the whole or a part of the past year, Rev. A. A. Phelps, Rev. Charles Stuart, Rev. Geo. Thompson, Mr. James Loughhead, Mr. Theodore D. Weld, Mr. Joseph G. Wilson, Rev. S. J. May, Rev. Thomas Huntington, and Mr. Aaron Judson. The Editor of the Emancipator, also, performed a tour of three months in the service of the Society. The labors

of these agents, as well as of others who have held no commission from the Society, have been attended with the happiest effects. The seed which they have sown has often sprung up in their presence. Prejudice has been removed, light has been shed, love has been kindled, and thousands have been brought to see in our growing cause the dawn of a brighter day for our dishonored country, and her millions of enslaved children.

The Society has published 122,000 copies of various pamphlets, besides the gratuitous distribution of copies of the *Emancipator*, and numerous circulars. They have also assisted in the circulation of larger works.

It is obvious to remark, that a proper organization of its friends throughout the country might enable the Society to accomplish a hundred-fold more by the press. With a design to promote this object, the Executive Committee have invited every abolitionist to contribute to the funds the small sum of 12½ cents monthly, in acknowledgment of which, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Record* is forwarded to each contributor. It is not intended by this to exonerate those who are able from giving more, but to interest *all* to do something, and to get the *Record* into extensive circulation. So far as this plan has been tested it works well. We feel assured that the brethren who have devoted themselves to this cause, have done it sincerely, and after counting the cost, and that each is ready

to bear his share of the burden, and even more than his share. It is with good hope, therefore, that we ask them not only to *pray*, but to *give, regularly, and often*, to the cause of breaking the yokes and liberating the oppressed.

There are three classes of the community to whom the Committee would especially appeal for systematic aid in the work of disseminating the Society's publications.

1. To young men.\* The cause which warmed the hearts and kindled the eloquence of Franklin, Rush, and Jay, is worthy of every American youth. The hope of our country, lies in its young men. And if they save the country it must be by effecting the overthrow of slavery. Societies of young men are already enrolled, and in active operation. Young men in all our seminaries have taken the side of the slave. It is believed, that throughout

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\* Thomas Jefferson, while he vainly looked to expatriation, as the *measure* by which his country was to be freed from slavery, held a wiser sentiment as to the *persons* who might be expected to accomplish this glorious object. The following extracts from his letter to Edward Cole, Esq. (then a citizen of Virginia, but since Governor of Illinois,) is worthy of the serious consideration of every youth who aims to leave his monument in the hearts of his countrymen.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 25, 1814.

Dear Sir,—Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole do honor to both the head and heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single

the country the young are ready, when the cause is fairly stated, to go for *justice upon the soil*. Let young men, therefore, not wait till their souls are grown callous under the influence of time-serving expediency,—but act *now* and act in *concert*.

2. To ladies. The kinder portion of our race always have taken, and always will take, the lead in every work of true benevolence. The heart of woman can understand, that no political advantages, nor considerations of expediency can, for a moment, justify a system which desolates the *homes*

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effort,—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation.—From those of the former generation, who were in the fulness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, but not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds have yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm, and little reflection on the value of liberty. And when an alarm was taken at an enterprize of their own, it was not easy to carry them to the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Colonel Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member, was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the greatest indecorum. From an early stage of our Revolution, other and more distant duties were assigned to me; so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789, and, I may say, till I returned to reside at home in 1809, I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here on this subject. I had always hoped that the *younger generation*, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become as it were the vital spirit of every American, in the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of

of 460,000 families; which tears the tender babe from the arms of its mother; which makes a million of her own sex the mere property of the highest bidder; which lashes the mother to the toil of a brute, in the presence of, and perhaps by the very hands of her own sons! The ardor with which our fair countrywomen enter into this holy work, is already evidenced by many efficient auxiliaries. Without invidious comparison, the Committee may name the societies of Portland, Concord, Boston, Providence, New-York, and Philadelphia. We confidently expect the number will be increased more

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avarice, would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. But my intercourse with them, since my return, has not been sufficient to ascertain that they have made towards this point the progress I had hoped.—Your solitary, but welcome voice, is the first which has brought this sound to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time.

I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle the armor of Hector "*tremetibus aevo humeris et inutile ferrum erigi.*" No: I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begat mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the *young*; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers; and these are the only weapons of an old man.

It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed, which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British Parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. And you will be supported by the religious precept, "be not weary in well doing." That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

EDWARD COLE, Esq.

than ten fold at the next anniversary. It will be remembered, that the debate in Congress on Slavery in the District of Columbia was called forth by a petition signed by 800 ladies of New-York. Here is work for all. Let such petitions be poured in till the north, at least, is purified from its participation in the sin.

3. To children. The Committee have heard with great pleasure of the formation of Juvenile Anti-Slavery Societies, in Providence and Utica—others no doubt exist. And why should they not? In the cause of Temperance the aid of Juvenile societies has been hailed with delight. It is casting salt into the fountain head of public sentiment. It is forestalling the tyrant. It is standing at the dividing of the ways and blocking up that broad one which leads to death.

Every child understands the right and the wrong about Slavery, the moment the case is stated. It is only the wise and the prudent, who have grown hoary in threading the mazes of expediency, and blind in attempting to look through the veil of futurity, that have so mystified and mixed up the subject, as to think that slaveholding is half right and half wrong, and so delicate a mixture that it is best to let it alone. ‘Away with it,’ says the unsophisticated child. ‘The man in chains is no less a brother, because he is black.’ Yes, let the minds of children be imbued with the holy principles of

justice and brotherly love before they are contaminated with the unholy prejudice of caste.

The Committee cannot omit to congratulate the friends of human rights on the growth of our Anti-Slavery literature. The talent which has been called on this noble subject, for variety and amount, is alike creditable to our country, and to the minds and hearts of the writers. As proof of this we need only refer to the "Appeal" and "Oasis" of Mrs. Child, the "Lectures" of Mr. Phelps, "Our Countrymen in Chains," and other compositions by Whittier, and the "Inquiry into Colonization and Anti-Slavery, by Wm. Jay." Of the latter work, the first edition was taken up at once, and another of 5,000 copies has just been issued from the press.

Neither would the Committee forget to mention the sympathy and aid of the noble philanthropists of Great Britain. For the mission to our aid of two of their ablest advocates in the cause of the oppressed, thousands will rise up and call them blessed. Why should the friends of righteous and lawful liberty, be made jealous of each other by geographical boundaries? In removing such absurd jealousy, as well as in pleading for the slaves, our brethren are not laboring in vain.

It is with just pleasure that the Committee here add an assurance of sympathy just received from a number of philanthropists in England whose lives are the brightest ornaments of this, and whose me-

mories will be embalmed in all Christian hearts of the coming age.

*“To the Secretary of the American National Anti-Slavery Society,—”*

We are desirous of conveying to the approaching meeting of your society at New-York, how sincerely we rejoice in the progress of correct information and opinions on the subject of Slavery in the United States and our assurance that whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the best *mode* of brotherly cooperation and union in the great cause of the extinction of Slavery, the British Abolitionists generally most cordially wish success to the efforts making in America for promoting the full recognition of the Christian principle that “God has made of one blood all the families of the earth” and consequently that neither difference of colour or condition should be a ground of withholding either personal liberty or an entire equality of civil, political and religious privileges. We trust the blessing with which it has pleased Divine Providence to crown the exertions made in this country will prove a great encouragement to you to persevere in your labours.

JAMES CROPPER,

ADAM HODGSON,

THOS. RAFFLES, D.D. L. L. D.

PETER CLARE,

WM. MARSDEN, B. D.

ISAAC CREWDSON,

WM. MARSH.

JOHN ANGELL JAMES,

JOSEPH STURGE,

THOMAS TATTERSHALL, M.A.

EDWARD CROPPER,

ROBT. BENSON,

JOHN CROPPER, JUN.”

Having thus glanced at some of the events of the past year, the Committee would carefully consider the question, What has the Society to hope in continuing its present course of labor?

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\* “ESTEEMED FRIEND,—The letter sent herewith expresses, I doubt not, the general feeling of the British abolitionists; and, had there been time and opportunity, the signatures of *all* might, I believe, have been obtained to it. We were, some of us, desirous of forwarding something of the sort, from the fear, that as some of the old and well known friends of the cause here had not corresponded with or recognized your proceedings, it might, by some, have been attributed to a want of cordial approval, and not to its real cause,—a fear of improper interference.

Very sincerely, thy friend,

JOS. STURGE.

*Birmingham, 3d Month, 30th, 1835.*



There are few so ignorant of history, or so faithless in an overruling Providence, or so infatuated in sin as to suppose that Slavery can last forever, as a part of our social system. Tyranny, from its very nature, grows more and more intolerable, till its victims rise in the fury of desperation, and, in the Providence of God, the tables are turned. Blood flows like water ; and the proud despots are at last feign to save their lives by taking the place of their slaves.

But no one will give over our own favored nation to this awful retribution who believes in the efficiency of Truth, applied by the Holy Spirit of God, as the remedy of moral evil.

Before affirming the appropriateness of the remedy proposed by this society, it will be well to inquire, whether there are already in operation any other causes which will peacefully overthrow slavery. If the desired object is in a fair way of accomplishment, why should the public mind be agitated by the introduction of a new method.

It is said by some that Christianity, at its first promulgation, found slavery in the world, and by its general transforming influence upon the hearts of individuals, destroyed it. Hence it is inferred, we should make no *special* effort now, but should leave the matter to the reforming influence of Christianity. Let us *convert* the Slaveholders, it is said, without any particular and special reference to Slavery, and, as Christianity is naturally hostile to

Slavery, the latter must of necessity cease. Not so. This conclusion is false because the cases are not parallel. Granting that the Apostles made no special attack upon Slavery, yet they were not Slaveholders. They were pure from taint;—they made no compromise with any sin. Masters could not enter their churches without rendering unto their servants that which was **JUST** and **EQUAL**. Consequently, when Christianity triumphed, Slavery shared the fate of other sins. It was crucified and buried, as part and parcel of the world, the flesh and the devil. Now, it is far otherwise. Slavery nestles in the church. In all her leading denominations a large portion, both of her members, and her ministers, hold slaves and traffic in them. Their fields are reaped down without wages. The cry of the laborer is against them. And yet they maintain their standing in churches as Christians. In consistency with this, the great bulk of church members apologize for Slavery and justify it from Scripture; else how could they fellowship Slaveholders? Can the enlargement or multiplication of such churches overthrow Slavery? Could the enlargement of the church of Laodicea overthrow pride and luxury? Can the enlargement of a church of *rum-sellers* check intemperance?

But the argument does not stop here. The Christianity of slaveholders is brought to sanctify the system. Attack Slavery as the despoiler of human rights, and you are pointed to the best Chris-

tians in the land; surely it cannot be a sin if such men practice it.

So long then as we continue to propagate this Slaveholding Christianity, we do but strengthen slavery. Say what we will of the silence of the Apostles on the subject of slavery, if their lips did not preach directly against Slavery,\* their practice did. But with the preachers in the present day, whatever hostility to Slavery there may be in their doctrines, it is more than nullified by their practice; so that if all the masters were to be gathered into the church by them to day, Slavery would be stronger than ever. Some cause, therefore, must be brought to act upon the church itself, before it can be otherwise than a support to practical slavery.

Again, it is hoped that the general improvements of the age, in science, arts and morals, will, somehow, sweep away Slavery. Why? Have not the facilities of instruction been increasing? Have not printed books been poured out as water? Have not the comforts and luxuries of life, by the aid of machinery, been brought to every freeman's door? Are we not a nation of kings:—every freeholder having at his command more solid comforts than the monarchs of past centuries? Has not a wonderful moral revolution been witnessed in the habits of high and low, rich and poor, in regard to

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\* The teaching of Christ and his Apostles was as direct against Slavery, as against any other violation of the moral law.

temperance? And how much has all this helped the slave? Not at all. Every good influence that ever reaches him seems to be converted by his master into a mere enhancement of his pecuniary value. The same statute, in South Carolina, which, in one section, prohibits the sale of ardent spirits to the slave, in another forbids, *under the same penalty, the teaching him to read and write*. All else may be rising about him, but the slave is only the more degraded by the contrast. The legislation to which he is subjected is all designed and adapted to make him a profitable brute. So long as the slave is held in his present relation to his master, and to the laws, those influences which may be elevating the mass around him, cannot, to any considerable extent, reach him; and the more abundant and healthful such influences, the greater the supposed necessity of keeping him beyond their reach.

But in spite of the forward march of improvement in the free states, it may well be questioned whether the mass of the white population, in the slave states, be not moving backwards. It is apprehended that there are not a few wealthy slave masters who find themselves mentally incapable of violating the law against teaching their slaves to read. Such is the tendency of slavery—adverse to the improvement of master as well as slave. Slavery takes away the spur of intellectual, not less than of physical enterprise, and leaves the mind to be cultivated rather as a matter of amusement than

of business. We have great politicians from the South; and why should not slaveholders be proficient in the art of ruling? But how much of our science or literature springs from southern soil? How many teachers are sent thence? How many useful inventions originate there? Is there, then, a particle of proof that the march of mind is *towards* the freedom of the slaves?

The doctrine of gradual abolition has been tried upon slavery ever since the Revolution, and in vain. "Let the slaves be freed as soon as it can be done with safety to the masters, and benefit to themselves," has been preached; but no master has been convinced by it that slavery is a sin **NOW**, or that emancipation is either safe or beneficial, or a duty **NOW**.

No public sentiment has been created by it in favor of the slave's *present* rights, nor much pity excited for his *present* sufferings. *Gradualism* is the doctrine of waiting for a "more convenient season." For fifty years its believers have waited and the season for beginning to do something is every day becoming less convenient.

Gradualism, as a doctrine, is more fatal to abolition than unqualified pro-slavery, because more deceitful. An able writer\* has shown that the practice of it is far less applicable to the states that now hold slaves, than it was to those which formerly freed theirs; because, where so large an amount

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\* See Jay's Inquiry, p. 192, Sec. Ed.

of slave labor is at stake, there is an excessive fear of the corrupting influence of a little free labor.— Hence the increasing rigor of the laws against emancipation. Do these laws evince that the system is to be frittered away by degrees? Surely, if there is any virtue in the doctrine, we ought by this time to have seen the commencement of its practical operation.

Some good patriots suppose, that the foundation principles which were laid in our Revolution, will work out the overthrow of slavery. There is no doubt that the doctrine of equality of rights is, abstractly, at war with slavery; and the republic, professedly built on it, ought to be practically so. But it is not. Slavery makes our republic a laughing stock. An effort is now making to bring the slaves into the place which they ought to hold, according to the Declaration of Independence, and we are met all at once by a discovery! The sages of the present age have found that there are no such things as “*inalienable rights!*” Our movement, since the Revolution, has been retrograde; and, at this rate, there is a thousand-fold more probability that slavery will overthrow our republicanism than the reverse.

Again: is colonization adequate to remove slavery? If so, after a trial of eighteen years, it is time we should begin to understand the *how* and the *wherefore*. It is evident the masters will never give up their slaves merely because they can be taken off their hands. If the slaves are colonized,

other laborers must be substituted for them. It would be easy to get a worse class, but where will the planters look for a better? \* Will they import a laboring class from Europe? If they can be persuaded to substitute free for slave labor at all, why should they incur the expense and risk of exportation and importation, when the whole may be done on the spot, in a moment, by just making freemen of the slaves? Suppose the question were in regard to the operatives in the English manufactories, and it had been found that they were obliged to work *fifteen* hours a day, and were stinted in their wages; could the evil be cured by colonizing the oppressed English, and putting Germans in their stead?

Finally, is more to be hoped for by letting the matter alone, and leaving it to the South? When the North was saying less, was the South doing more? When the flame of immediate emancipation burst forth at the North, was the South just then ready to kindle up spontaneously, and has it been chilled and frozen back again by our ardor? The forebodings of many professed enemies of slavery

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\* In the *Jamaica Herald*, (April 10, 1835,) the editor complains of the laborers introduced from England to supply the place of the slaves, as chargeable with "many crimes, of which the negroes are as yet guiltless." He says, "The rock which the West Indians are likely to split on, in their endeavors to stem the new tide of events, is the ridiculous supposition that Europeans can ever cultivate sugar; and if persons, instead of carrying on a white slave trade under this illusion, would at once face the evil by removing the flattering unction from their minds, sugar might still be cultivated by *negro free labor*—the only means by which it ever can be continued as a staple of these islands."—The Herald has been a pro-slavery press.

would lead us to suppose so. They regret the agitation of the subject here, lest it should exasperate the slaveholders, and prevent them from exercising that kindness towards the slaves which they otherwise would. There would be more reason in these apprehensions, if we could be pointed to any approaches towards emancipation, from which the masters have been caused to recede by our injudicious interference. There would be more, if we could be pointed to any reformation of morals which originated spontaneously among those who most needed it. The feeling of our Southern friends, who are ready to promise emancipation if they be not interfered with, is like that of the sluggish dreamer, who fancies that he would bestir himself betimes, were it not for the tormenting importunity of a person who is calling upon him to arise instantly.

If, then, slavery is ever to be peacefully abolished, we must look for some cause or principle of action far more powerful than any of those mentioned.—Let us inquire, therefore, whether the remedy proposed by this Society is of greater efficacy.

The American Anti-slavery Society aims to overthrow slavery *by revolutionizing the public sentiment of the country* in regard to it; or, in other words, by convincing *all* of the sinfulness of slavery, and of the duty and safety of its immediate abolition. In effecting this object, it begins, of choice, with those who are not slaveholders.

Whatever may be said of the efficacy of this plan,



it cannot be pretended that it has ever been tried without success. Abolitionists, in past times, have failed in one or all of three respects:—Either they have not insisted on the essential sinfulness of slaveholding, or they have not urged *immediate* emancipation, or they have not looked to the radical change of public sentiment, as the means of accomplishing their object. The true principle of reform has been tested by the friends of temperance. By operating on the *sober*, by aiming to suppress the *moderate use* of drinks that intoxicate, they have wounded the monster. This has cut off his supplies. This has opened to the light his lurking places. This has published his deceitful tricks. This gives his victims a fair chance to escape. On their return from their slippery way, they are not now met by that temperate and moderate cup which first made them drunkards. Now our principle of action, in regard to slavery, is precisely the same; and why should it not possess the same efficacy?

Can any one, who believes in the moral government of God, doubt that He means to vindicate his word from the foul charge of sanctioning oppression?—that He means to purify his church from all participation in it?—that if slavery is to be abolished by any moral means whatever, the gospel of his Son is to have the glory of it? God will humble oppressors, as he always has done; and if he does it not by his arm of vengeance, he will do it by the power of truth,—not in the shape of expe-

diency, wiling them gradually out of their sins by stealth; but in the shape of rebuke, cutting them up root and branch, and demanding repentance and restitution.

There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose, that those principles which are admitted to fill and move the soul at the North, can never pervade the South. We are gravely told, "You may agitate the North; you may convert the North; you may kindle the highest moral indignation against slavery every where at the North; but you have gained nothing. The South is to a man against you. Your agitation of this delicate subject can have no other effect upon our southern brethren than to sunder them from us forever."—Such warnings we hold to be very absurd. Does truth change its nature by crossing a line? Is conscience confined to certain parallels of latitude? Suppose it unsafe to express certain opinions in a slave state, does it follow that those opinions cannot be formed there? Galileo was condemned for teaching the *heresy* that the sun is immoveable, and that the earth moves around it. Did he renounce his belief. Not at all; for the plain reason, that he could not if he would. Was his heresy crushed? Inquire at the Infant Schools. Opinions, from the nature of the human mind, can be overthrown and suppressed only by reason and argument; but reason and argument are on the side of truth,—therefore truth is invincible.

But why do we argue this point? Immediate emancipation has already crossed the line that bounds slavery on the North, and, in the fulness of its so called fanaticism, is daily making converts. While multitudes at the North are affecting to quake with fear, lest our denunciation should alienate the South and extinguish the last hope of the slave, slaveholders themselves are repenting, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. This is not theory, but *fact*—fact to which we earnestly beg the serious attention of our brethren who believe that slaveholding is a *sin*, but dare only say that the *system* of slavery is *wrong*. The reason why immediate emancipation makes converts at the South is obvious—the doctrine reaches the conscience. And if the whole body of Northern christians were to take ground on it, would not the truth be brought to the consciences of our Southern brethren with a thousand-fold greater force?

The plans and labors of this Society are adapted to bring the *churches* to the right ground.

Being founded on truth there can be no doubt of the approbation of the great Head of the church, nor of success. The church may go astray. She may lose much of her Christianity. The preaching of Christ and his apostles takes this for granted, witness the epistles to the seven churches of Asia. But to suppose the church will not yield to truth, is to suppose her *radically corrupt*. The labors of Christians have been too signally blessed in

the present day to leave us any right to such a supposition. We have no right to suppose that the Church will shut up her bowels of compassion from the poor slave, when his case is fully presented. There will be agitation and effervescence and heat. This arises from the nature of man. But the church will come out purified as gold. Those who deprecate division in the church, whatever may be the subject, as the worst of all possible evils, should remember that the day is coming when Christ himself will make a division. Do they expect the church to be reformed from every sin into which she may have fallen, instantaneously, by the miraculous conversion of all her members? If not, then there must be a temporary division, or the church must live on in sin.

Nothing but a revolution in public sentiment in regard to Slavery can preserve our present excellent form of government. To say nothing of the awards of Divine Justice, it is plainly impossible for a pure republican government to subsist long upon a foundation of tyranny. Slavery is the *dry rot* to all the props that can sustain a good government. The natural tendency of all its influences is to pervert every good institution. Were this society, therefore, to cease from its labors;—were not a voice of remonstrance to be heard on this side of the Potomac, nay more, were we to make every possible concession, and even become slaveholders ourselves, the Union must ere long be dissolved and

the national government must go to pieces. It is not in the nature of things, that an empire of Slavemasters, so extended as ours, should be long held together otherwise than by an iron despotism. It is not in *law* to govern those who govern others by *arbitrary will*. The States of Greece were engaged in endless broils, and the reason is, they were *Slaveholding* states. Had Greece been abolitionized in the time of Socrates, she might have remained to this day. So long as the yeomanry of a country—the body of its people—are free on their *own soil*, they cannot be driven from it; no power can put down the righteous authority by which they choose to be governed; but when servile oppression has made them the *machinery* of an idle upper class, what care they for a change of masters.

A dissolution of the Union, it is true, has been threatened in case the north should meddle with Slavery. It is easy to see how such *threats*, by preventing the moral action of the North may retard abolition and secure the pretended right of property, but it is quite as obvious, that the execution of them would work the downfall of slavery in the speediest way. The South will not act against her own interests. Besides, as the interference of the North is only a moral and perfectly constitutional one, the expedient of a political dismemberment is peculiarly awkward. The moral influence of Christendom reaches to every spot where a bird can alight, and to escape it the South

will have to dismember herself from the planet! After all we have said, we think too highly of the humanity and wisdom of the South to believe she would willingly leave us for the sake of hugging a *curse* to her bosom.

Again, the seeds of abolition are so thickly sown in the south, that any serious attempt to dissolve the Union would result in a dissolution of the south itself. No one, who looks deeper than the surface, will pretend that the whites of the south are, to a man, in favor of Slavery. If we may believe the best authorities on the ground, there is in the recesses of the public heart, a feeling which prudence only conceals for the present, but any violent demonstration in favor of Slavery would call it forth.

Another feature in the plan of this Society gives us great assurance of success. To the question put in the lips of the suppliant slave, ‘*Am I not a man and a brother?*’ it responds a prompt and hearty affirmative. YES; the 2,250,000 who this day feel the woes of bondage *are* our brethren. In all the pleasures and pains, joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, weal and woe of our common immortality, they are akin to us. In attacking that prejudice which excludes our colored brethren from the rights and privileges of MEN, the Society lays the axe at the root of slavery. It removes the frightful bugbear that “*the Slaves will be worse off when emancipated.*” This strange prediction is based upon the unhappy condition of the free

colored people, compared with the whites. But the cause is this. Heretofore, as a general thing, the slave has been freed from the chains of *one*, to be trampled under the feet of *many*. The principles we advocate go to slay prejudice in the outset. They recognize in the colored man a brother wherever he may be found. They go to remove from before him the obstacles which prevent his free pursuit of happiness here in his native land. In this doctrine, having the conscience of man and the government of God with us, we trust that no combination of the powers of evil shall be permitted to prevent our success.

But while immediate abolitionists sympathize with the oppressed, they are not unkind to the oppressors. There cannot be a greater injury to the Slavemaster than to apologize for his sin. No evil can befall him worse than the continuance of his cruel system. The immediatist, therefore, is his only real friend. When we quote the lines of the lamented Thomas Pringle,\* who describes Slavery as he saw it at the Cape of Good Hope, we have a witness in the bosom of every slaveholder.

“OH SLAVERY! thou art a bitter draught!  
And twice accursèd is thy poisoned bowl,  
Which taints with leprosy the White Man’s soul,  
Not less than his by whom its dregs are quaffed.  
The Slave sinks down, o’ercome by cruel craft,  
Like beast of burthen on the earth to roll.

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\* Late Secretary of the London Anti-Slavery Society. See his *African Sketches*, page 104.

'The Master, though in luxury's lap he loll,  
 Feels the foul venom, like a rankling shaft,  
 Strike through his reins. As if a demon laughed,  
 He, laughing, treads his victim in the dust—  
 The victim of his avarice, rage, or lust.  
 But the poor Captive's moan the whirlwinds waft  
 To Heaven—not unavenged: The oppressor quakes  
 With secret dread, *and shares the hell he makes.*"

From such considerations, and others, of which the limits of this report will not allow the mention, we derive the strongest encouragement to go forward. We invite ministers of the Gospel, conductors of the press, philosophers, statesmen and jurists to examine the principles of this Society, irrespective of the men who have taken part in its measures. Are not these principles sound? Is there a rational hope of putting a peaceful end to slavery by any other means than a thorough change of public opinion? If not, we call upon all who love their country, their fellow-men and their God, to join us. If we have failed in energy, if we have lacked wisdom; if there are men who are ready to carry this cause onward faster and further than we have done, let them come forward and give the Society and their country the benefit of their superior powers. The interests at stake are of sufficient magnitude to warrant the largest sacrifices and the most devoted exertions.—But let no one withhold his countenance and support, because his name is little known. To the people themselves, to the whole people, we must look for the decision of this question. Neither those who sit in the high places



of power, nor those who aspire to such seats, can be depended on to advocate the cause of the oppressed. To the former every effort towards reform is a tacit reproof; to the latter it is an interference with the object of their ambition. But the body of the people, when delivered from the influences which have blinded them, will take the side of humanity. To doubt this is to doubt the benevolence and government of God;—it is to doubt the evidence of our senses. The efficacy of our principles is not now a matter to be decided by experiment. Just so far as these principles have been faithfully promulgated, whether at the South or the North, they have triumphed. The contest, truly, is but commencing, nevertheless, having tried the temper of our celestial weapons, we count on a glorious victory.

Who would have dared, at the last anniversary to hazard the prediction, that, within one year, we should record a State Auxiliary in one of the most powerful of the Slave States? that we should have the happiness to meet, on this delightful occasion, such a delegation as is now present, from that auxiliary? We repeat it, therefore, with an emphasis that does not falter in view of the perils of the coming conflict, **LET US THANK GOD AND TAKE COURAGE.**

**ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.,**  
*Sec. of Dom. Cor.*

May 12, 1835.



CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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**PREAMBLE.**

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our national existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God, and the world, nearly one sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union and liberties of the States; and whereas we believe it the duty and interest of the masters, immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation, that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following Constitution.

**CONSTITUTION.**

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**ARTICLE I.**

This Society shall be called the **AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

## ARTICLE II.

The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

## ARTICLE III.

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

## ARTICLE IV.

Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings.

## ARTICLE V.

The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, a Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above, and not less than ten other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.

## ARTICLE VI.

The Board of Managers shall annually elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than five, nor more than twelve members, which shall be located in New-York, who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their

body, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to agents, and to the Corresponding Secretaries, direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the Society, make an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society, and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power, to advance the objects of the Society.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or, in their absence, a President pro tem. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the accounts of the Treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, the Officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient. A special meeting shall always be held on the Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May, in the City of New-York, at 10 o'clock, A. M., provided the annual meeting be not held there at that time.

#### ARTICLE IX.

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. The officers of each Auxiliary Society shall be ex-officio members of the Parent Institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

#### ARTICLE X.

This Constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed, have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

## APPENDIX.

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[ A. ]

### FACTS FROM MR. BIRNEY IN REGARD TO THE PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN KENTUCKY.

THE following statement of facts was made by Mr. Birney both at New-York and Boston. No report of it was taken, as made at the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and it is here inserted from the New-England Spectator, as delivered in Boston :—

MR. B. stated that about eighteen months since, he returned from Alabama, where he had some time resided. On his return, he found the cause of emancipation not so much advanced in Kentucky as he expected. Colonization principles had taken deep root, and diverted the attention from the general liberation of the slaves. A few, however, were beginning to think something more ought to be done, and were determined to go further. In December, 1833, nine individuals formed the Kentucky Gradual Emancipation Society. All the members of this association were to give pledges to emancipate all their slaves born after that date, when they should arrive at the age of twenty-five; and if the individual emancipated was a female with children, her children should go free with her. I myself, added Mr. B., became a member. I soon found, however, that this society must prove ineffectual, because it did not lay hold of the fundamental principle of immediate duty.

In the spring of 1834, my own mind came to the settled conclusion, that all schemes of emancipation, in which the subject of immediate duty is not involved, must prove ineffectual. With these views, I addressed a letter to the secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, which, I suppose, has been generally read, and therefore it is unnecessary to speak of its contents. Its effect has been to put down colonization, particularly in Kentucky. The Kentucky Colonization Society has now 1500 dollars on hand, and it is the general impression, that when this money is expended, nothing further will be done on this subject. The controversy now in Kentucky, is between the gradualist and the immediatist. The subject of colonization does not come into discussion.

Last fall, I addressed a letter to the members of the Presbyterian Synod in the vicinity of Danville, in which I attempted to present the scripture doctrine on the subject of slaveholding. One gentleman went up to the Synod,

fully determined to follow the advice of the letter, and immediately emancipate his slaves. The subject was introduced for discussion in the Synod. The ground taken by some of its members, was, that slavery is authorized by scripture. The gentleman referred to, returned home with his conscience somewhat relieved by the discussion. I, added Mr. B., made him a visit, and was the means of renewing the compunctions of conscience he previously had; and before I left him, I had the satisfaction of writing the deed of emancipation for him.

We have recently been asked the question—What have the advocates of immediate emancipation accomplished?—Where are the slaves they have emancipated? The gentleman spoken of above, has emancipated five, I myself have emancipated six, Professor Buchanan; the President of the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society, three, and Mr. Thompson two; nineteen within my own immediate observation.

To return to the subject—At a meeting of the Synod in Danville, last fall, I had the opportunity of explaining what is meant by “immediate emancipation.” Many then expressed to me that it was a very different thing from what they had supposed, and by no means so objectionable.—This much we may safely say—The edge of their objection to immediate emancipation was dulled.

During the last session of the Kentucky legislature, I visited Frankfort, for the purpose of getting information respecting the state of public opinion throughout the state, on the subject of slavery. I found that the impression is general throughout the state, that *slavery among us is NOT TO BE PERPETUAL*.

The convention bill was again brought up and discussed, and passed through two readings in each house. On the third reading in the Senate, the vote was found to be a tie. When this was known in the lower house, further discussion was omitted, and the bill was rejected by a majority of five. It may be well here to state the *reasons* which operate for calling a convention. The subject of purifying the judiciary has long occupied the attention of the people of that state, and was doubtless the primary reason with most in favor of the call; but the abolition of slavery is one regarded of very great importance to be considered by such a convention. These two are the prominent objects. At the next session of the legislature, the convention bill will doubtless pass. I am, however, not at all solicitous about it, though I shall not oppose it. Any measures which may be adopted by that body to produce gradual emancipation, though they will much aid the extension of our principles, will not interfere with our impressing on the minds of slaveholders, the *duty* of immediately ceasing to sin.

The principal point with me is to get the subject of immediate emancipation before the public. There are many who are throwing obstacles in my way. Where I lecture, the remark is—“Better not go to hear Mr. Birney. It is an exciting subject. You had better let it alone.” Notwithstanding this, in every instance except one, I had as large an audience as could have been expected, under the circumstances in which I was placed.

The Lyceum at Danville invited me to be present at a discussion on slavery before that body, expecting that President Young and I would hold a public conference. In the evening, in the presence of the president, I reviewed at large his letter on gradual emancipation, and the next evening President Young replied. The results are well known.

A discussion was also held on the subject of immediate emancipation, in

a school-house near my residence. When I entered the meeting, only one was known as an immediate abolitionist. At the close of the discussion, the vote was taken, and stood ten in favor, and twelve against immediate abolition. On the next evening of the discussion in the same place—which continued from half past 3 in the afternoon to 11 in the evening—those opposed, by their management, prevented a vote being taken. Persons not in favor of immediate emancipation, find themselves necessarily driven to the justification of slavery, in order to maintain their position.

The first visible effect of the inculcation of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, on the consciences of the slaveholders, is seen in their determination to improve the condition of their slaves. They return home resolved to begin to teach their slaves the A B C. They next begin to bring them into family prayers.

Mr. B. stated that he had recently received a letter from Kentucky, which stated that the subject of immediate emancipation is greatly talked about. A discussion of the subject has recently been had in the Young Men's Institute of Louisville. He [Mr. B.] had been written to, to take a part in the debate, it not being known that he had left. Dr. Marshall, brother of the Chief Justice, stated that so strong is the impression against slavery in Louisville, that when a slaveholder recently wished to lay claim to a colored man in Louisville, the affair was so unpopular, that he wished the privilege of prosecuting his claim in another place.

Near the close of the winter, continued Mr. B., I came to the conclusion that it was necessary to form a State Anti-Slavery Society, as a nucleus about which to concentrate effort. In March last, I formed the plan, drew up a paper stating the principles of anti-slavery associations, and circulated it for signatures. Forty-two persons signed this paper; and on the 19th of March the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Danville, consisting of forty-five members, whose numbers have since been increased.

No hindrance whatever is thrown in the way of our meetings. The church in Danville was freely given to me for the convention. The pastor of the church, although opposed to me on this subject, yet gave notice of my lectures held in that place. No church in that state has ever been refused me.

Mr. Birney was now questioned by individuals, and gave answer in substance as follows:—

QUESTION. Would the slaves, if immediately emancipated, be able to take care of themselves?

MR. B. The six whom I have emancipated are with me. The others spoken of in my immediate neighborhood, are likewise with their former proprietors. I contracted with my own, and agreed to give them wages for their labor. One family consists of a man, his wife, and two young children. When I was about to leave home recently on this visit to the east, I called this man to me, and asked him how much money he would want to supply his family until my return. He told the sum. I then reckoned up the amount he had required to support his family for the year which would then terminate, and found that the whole was *just one half his wages* for that time. Thus, the first year of his freedom, he has well supported his family, and saved half his earnings.

I have made extensive inquiry, continued Mr. B., respecting the condition of emancipated blacks in Kentucky, and have never found but one—an old woman—who has become a pauper—but one who came on the public for support. And further, I have learned from a friend conversant with such



matters, that he has never known one emancipated slave brought up on a criminal offence.

QUESTION. We have been told that if the slaves were immediately emancipated, they would turn round and cut their masters' throats; what is your opinion on this subject?

Mr. B. smiled at such a question, and simply said, My house is never locked, and my domestics have free access at all times. They have the opportunity to cut my throat, and the throats of my wife and children at any time if they choose. I have no fears on this subject, nor do I think any fears, in any case, need be indulged.

QUESTION. What do you think of the "American Union?" whether it is, in your opinion, defective in principle, and will be inefficient in its operation on the south?

The great defect of the Union is, they take too weak a *principle*. They descend to the morality of the master. They are for going down to the lowest slaveholder, and trying to elevate him. They are attempting to act upon too low a grade of conscience. If I were to go to a village to promote the cause of temperance, I should not first descend to the drunkard, or to the moderate drinker, or the retailer, and try to elevate them, but I would go to the purest men in the village—men the least contaminated with the sin of intemperance. I would first operate on these, and bring them to the right standard, and then I would, through them, operate on those who use or deal in ardent spirits. So, to advance the abolition of slavery, I would first go to those who are least involved in this sin, and endeavor to set them right, and then, when I had brought them up to the right principle, I would go farther, and try to elevate those who are more involved, and thus ring all to the correct standard.

As to the operation of the Union, I would say that the slaveholder will be satisfied with any scheme which allows him to put off present duty until to-morrow. He will not object to your calling slavery a sin, and that he should immediately repent of his sin; but ————. Your "but" will prove an opiate to his conscience. The "Exposition" of the Union, I regard as a soother of the slaveholder's conscience. We have heard much this afternoon respecting the sin of slavery AND the *difficulties* in the way of its abolition. The Union says sin *and* difficulties. They thus throw their difficulties between the slaveholder and his duty—so that whenever his sin and duty are pointed out, these difficulties are ever starting up and filling the whole field of his vision. The difficulties—the difficulties. You tell slaveholders they are sinning every moment they hold slaves. They may admit it, but then they will say the slave is better off than the free black—or he cannot support himself if liberated—or he will cut our throats. Now they say—and the Union encourages them to say it—these difficulties must be removed before they can be led to feel the truth or to act. Here is the obstacle to success. These difficulties, as long as they are allowed to have place, will ever stand between truth and the conscience.

QUESTION. It is said that the slaves, if now liberated, will be idle, and turn out vagrants; what is your opinion on that point?

When the man in my employ—before referred to, with his wife and two children—first commenced laboring on wages, he labored so hard, commenced so early in the morning, and continued so late in the evening, that I was obliged to go and tell him that he must not do it—he would ruin his health and constitution by such hard labor.

In 1828, a gentleman in his will emancipated sixty-three slaves. They all live on land purchased of the sons of this gentleman, and are all doing well. I inquired of a tavern keeper near by, not a professor of religion, a man well acquainted with them, and he pronounced them good neighbors, industrious, peaceable, contented, and happy. Their only complaint was, they had no school among them. The pastor of the church says that many of these persons are now members of the church, but not one before they were emancipated. With regard to their becoming vagrants: My father, when he emancipated his three slaves, gave them their entire liberty. One of them was intemperate. The Christmas holidays were come. He, much elated with his freedom, had a frolic, and afterwards engaged as college sweeper, spending his earnings for strong drink. When I emancipated my own slaves, continued Mr. B., I told them that they ought so to conduct as to remove all excuses of slavemasters for not immediately emancipating their slaves. This weighs with force on the minds of most emancipated slaves, and is the subject of conversation among them. I went to the wife of the slave above referred to, and told her the effect which her husband's conduct must have on keeping slaves in bondage. Ah, says she, we have talked this matter all over; husband is now at home, and is not to go to town any more. And, added Mr. B., he has kept his word, and become an industrious, temperate man. Thus, if proper advice is not given, some, elated with their freedom, may for a while become idle and dissipated, but will soon be induced, by their own sense of propriety, and the influence of others, to pursue a regular, honest, industrious life.

QUESTION. If a stranger puts a question to a slave, relating to his freedom, will he usually give him a direct, sincere answer? Can he get at his real views on the subject of slavery?

No. This is the reason why so many northern men are deceived on this subject. A stranger visiting the master's family, is kindly treated, and supposed by the slaves to agree with the master. Slaves know that they are valued on account of their contentment, and that their treatment is graduated by it. It is therefore regarded by them for their interest to say that they are contented, and to appear so, whether such is the fact or not. Hence, if asked by the stranger if they are contented, they uniformly say—yes, massa. Would you not like to be free, and leave your master? no, massa; I very well off now. They suppose, of course, that what they say will be reported to the master, and influence his treatment of them.

In Kentucky, all know me, continued Mr. B. I am committed to the public as an abolitionist. I might go to ten thousand, and they would all say to me that they preferred liberty to slavery. To give an instance: When about to discuss the question of immediate abolition, in the school-house near where the sixty-three emancipated slaves reside, I proceeded to the place, and found an old man sweeping the house. He was one of the emancipated, and the sexton. As it was out of the usual time for putting the house in order for a meeting, I asked him what he was doing there to-day, in order to test the old man's temper, he not knowing me. 'Ah, massa, there is going to be a great debate here to-day. Our minister here is going to discuss the question—whether slavery is right or not.' 'Well, old man, what do *you* think of it?' He hung down his head, and said in a tone quite changed—'Ah, massa, don't know.'

The next morning, as I thought I had left my knife in the school-house,

I rode up and found the old man cleaning the house. As soon as he saw me, he said—'Come, get down, get down, massa, let us go in and talk about it.' As I had another engagement, I excused myself; but he insisted, and almost pulled me from my horse, to force me in to talk with him. There was no 'I don't know' now. But when I asked him what he now thought of the question, he replied, 'Well, massa, if you ain't right on the question, I don't know who is.'

Another instance. While riding on horseback one day, I noticed two females, with hurried steps, hastening to the road to meet me. They told me that they prayed for me, that the Lord would grant me success. 'Men say,' they continued, 'hard things about you.' 'Ah, what do they say about me?' 'They say you are a slave trader, and riding about the country buying slaves. But we know it is all false.' On parting, they said—'We now know it is our duty to behave better than we have ever done, so that they may not say—See how bad these slaves conduct—this is all Mr. Birney's doings. No, we will behave well, and help you all we can, and we will pray God to help you.'

Mr. Birney here stated, that if the cause of abolition were now to cease, these slaves would be driven to desperation. This is their only hope. They expect something good is coming from our efforts in the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Birney here also spoke of the information the slaves obtain almost universally, of the anti-slavery movements at the north. They are much better informed on this subject than their masters.

Another instance to show how he was regarded by the slaves, Mr. B. then noticed. His son was going to attend school in Lexington. About 14 miles from home, he overtook a female slave with a basket of turnips on her head. He asked for one, which she gave him. He offered to pay her, but no; all she wished for was his name. He told her his name was Birney. 'Ah,' said she, much elated, 'are you the son of that GOOD MAN?' I do not say this, added Mr. B. smiling, to show that I am better than others, only to give the impressions of slaves.

QUESTION. Are the slaves opposed to colozination?

Mr. B. said that masters did not give their slaves correct information on the subject. The masters throw terrors over it, so as to make the slaves contented with their present condition. They all dislike removal to Liberia or any other place. If the question were, emancipation here, or colozination, not one in five hundred would prefer the latter.

QUESTION. Would the slaves, if emancipated, prefer to stay where they are?

The impression, said Mr. B., that the slaves, if emancipated, would flock to the free states, is without foundation. For,

1. There is *more room* for them where they are. The slaveholding states are not so densely populated.

2. They are acquainted with the *kind of labor* in the states where they now reside.

3. The *climate* is more suitable to them.

4. They will be *wanted as laborers* by their former masters. They will prefer to labor for them, for they are better acquainted with their tempers and wants, than with those of northern men.

5. There is less *negro hatred* in the slave than in the free states. They are subject to more insult in the latter than in the former.

Here Mr. B. alluded to the treatment of the free blacks in Ohio, and in our steamboats and stages, which is unknown at the south.

6. The *connections* of the slaves are at the south. The slaves are more attached to their native soil, to their relations and friends, than we are. They are their all. They cannot resort to other means, as we can, to make themselves contented with a change of condition.

QUESTION. What do you think will be the influence of the churches at the north, which exclude the slaveholder from the communion and from the pulpit?

Believing, said Mr. B., that all successful operation in the cause must be on the conscience, it is my opinion that abolition must *begin* in the churches. If a slaveholder were to come to the north, and be refused communion in one church after another, it would bring him to consideration.—There is conscience left at the south, and it can be acted upon in this way. Many there are now kept down at the south. If the churches at the north take the lead, and do their duty in this respect, it will give countenance to and bring out those who think with us at the south.

## LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

THE following list is doubtless far below the number of Anti-Slavery Societies in actual existence, and it is certainly inaccurate in many cases as to the present officers. We have not the means of distinguishing accurately between those which are constitutionally Auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and others. But all, it is presumed, are founded on the same principles, and seek the same object in the same way.

The Secretaries of all Anti-Slavery Societies are requested to communicate to the Secretary for Domestic Correspondence of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the names of President and Secretary, the number of members, and date of formation of their respective Societies, in season to appear with the next Annual Report, or by the 1st of May, 1836. To those who signify a desire to become Auxiliary, and comply with the conditions provided in the Constitution, a letter of Recognition will be returned.

NAMES.	STATE.	PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
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Attleborough,	"	Dr. Phineas Savery,	Rev. N. Wright,
Andover Theo. Seminary,	"		D. T. Kimball, jr.
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Assonet,	R. I.		
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Andover,	Vt.		
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Allegany County,	N. Y.		
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Boonton,	N. J.	Daniel H. Stanton,	John Grimes,
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Buckland,	Mass.		
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Boston, Young Men's,	"	J. V. Himes,	John S. Kimball,
Bloomfield and Milburn,	Maine		
Barnstable,	Mass.	Zachus Hamlin,	Rev. D. Cheesman,
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Brandon,	Vt.		
Bennington,	Vt.		
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Columbiana and Fairfield,	Ohio	Joseph Woods,	Lot Holmes,
Cambridge,	Mass.		
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Clarkson Anti-Sl'y Asso.,	Penn.	Lindley Coates,	Moses Whitson,
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Cumberland,	R. I.		
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Cornwall,	Vt.		
Chester,	Vt.		
Danville,	Vt.	Isaac D. Newell,	Samuel Collins,
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